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Mr. White's Room

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WARWICK CASTLE
AND ITS EARLS



Shot by Graham, Leamington Spa.

Allen & Co. Ltd.

Warwick

WARWICK CASTLE

AND ITS EARLS

FROM SAXON TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK



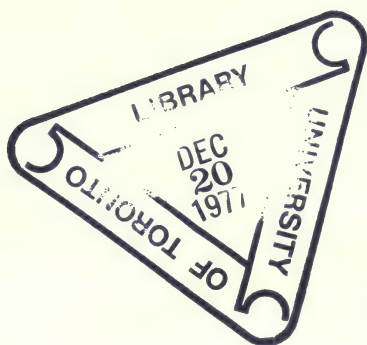
WITH TWO PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES
AND 172 ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. II.

LONDON

HUTCHINSON & CO. PATERNOSTER ROW

1903



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Warwick Castle and its Earls

BOOK V

THE HOUSE OF RICH

CHAPTER I

Lord Chancellor Rich—His Relations with Sir Thomas More—His Public Employments—His Part in the Suppression of the Religious Houses—His Torturing of Anne Ascue—The Fires of Felstead—Richard Rich's Benefactions to Felstead.

THE House of Rich is interesting. It was founded by an able but unscrupulous time-server, and many of its representatives were conspicuous—some of them for their talents, others for their virtues, and others again for their vices. We shall meet an Earl of Warwick who was first a pillar of piracy and afterwards a pillar of Puritanism; a Countess of Warwick who was remarkable for her sanctity, and a Countess of Warwick who was remarkable for her sins. And now let us pass, without further preface, to our story.

The first Rich to be famous was Lord Chancellor Rich (1496—1567), and the history of the family cannot be traced much further back.

Warwick Castle

It was a Hampshire family, and the first member of it whom we know about is the Lord Chancellor's great-grandfather, Richard Rich, who was a prominent member of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, and Sheriff of the City of London in 1441. From his second son, Thomas, Richard Rich, our Lord Chancellor, was descended.

He was born in the parish of St. Lawrence, Jewry, and is said to have been educated at Cambridge. The statement is probably correct, as, at a later date, he stood against the Duke of Norfolk for the Chancellorship of that University. He then entered the Middle Temple, where he was a fellow-student of Sir Thomas More; and it is from a contemporary Life of Sir Thomas More that we get our solitary glimpse of the Lord Chancellor's frivolous youth. The glimpse is not at all a pleasant one. The occasion was Sir Thomas More's trial, and Rich, in the witness-box, had professed to betray confidences which Sir Thomas had reposed in him. Whereupon Sir Thomas More broke out as follows:—

“In good faith, Mr. Rich, I am more sorry for your perjury, than for mine own peril; and know you, that neither I nor any man else to my knowledge ever took you to be a man of such credit, as either I or any other would vouchsafe to communicate with you in any matter of importance. You know that I have been acquainted with your manner of life and conversation a long space, even from your youth to this time; for we dwelt long together in one parish, where as yourself can well tell (I am sorry you compel

Rich. L. Chancellor



After the drawing by Holbein in His Majesty's collection at Windsor.

RICHARD, LORD RICH, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND
(THE FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF RICH).

Warwick Castle

me to speak it) you were always esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer and gamester, and not of any commendable fame either there or at your house in the Temple, where hath been your bringing up. Can it therefore seem likely to your honourable lordships, that in so weighty a cause I should so unadvisedly overshoot myself as to trust Mr. Rich, a man always reputed of me for one of so little truth and honesty?"

This, it shall be cheerfully allowed, is not a very good character for the founder of a family, though it makes no reference to the worst of the many bad things that might justly have been said to the detriment of the founder of the family of Rich. On the other hand, it is worth while to remember that it was precisely because he was wicked that he flourished like a green bay tree, and that, if he had modelled his conduct upon the precepts of the moral philosophers or the Christian evangelists, he might never have emerged from obscurity to become the ancestor of Earls of Warwick.

Moreover, Richard Rich, like many another lawyer—one need not mention names—contrived to combine with his dissipations a patient industry in the study of the law. Perhaps it was partly because he was so good a lawyer that he was so bad a man. His inconsistencies suggest a man who admitted no personal responsibility for anything that he did or for any opinion that he championed, but who was satisfied to speak from his brief and to act according to his instructions with that fierce pretence of sincerity which one associates with the Old Bailey. But he took care

always to be briefed by the winning side—that was the secret of his success in life.

Soon after he was thirty he began to hold public appointments. In 1528 he was a Justice of the Peace in Hertfordshire; in 1529 he was a Commissioner of Sewers, Reader at the Middle Temple, and Member of Parliament for Colchester; in 1530 he was on the Commission for Gaol Delivery at Colchester Castle; in 1532 he was Clerk of Recognizances of Debt taken in London; and in 1533 he was knighted and made Solicitor-General. It was in this last-named capacity that he assisted in bringing about the downfall of Sir Thomas More, in the circumstances already referred to; and his reward was the double appointment of Overseer of Liveries of Lands and Chirographer of Common Pleas.

The suppression of the monasteries took place about this time. It was, no doubt, high time that they were suppressed. "As an outlet for religious enthusiasm," says Green, "monasticism was practically dead. The friar, now that his fervour of devotion and his intellectual energy had passed away, had sunk into the mere beggar. The monks had become mere land-owners. Most of their houses were anxious only to enlarge their revenues and to diminish the number of those who shared them. In the general carelessness which prevailed as to the religious objects of their trust, in the wasteful management of their estates, in the indolence and self-indulgence which for the most part characterised them, the monastic houses simply

exhibited the faults of all corporate bodies which have outlived the work which they were created to perform."

But Richard Rich does not shine in the transaction. He was Thomas Cromwell's ablest instrument; and his name was coupled with Cromwell's when the North rose in rebellion against Cromwell's policy. The insurgents described him as a man of low birth and small reputation, a subverter of the good laws of the realm, a maintainer and inveterate of heretics, and one who imposed taxes for his own advantage. But, after he had duly lined his pockets, he deserted his benefactor, to whom he owed the opportunity of doing so, gave evidence against him on his trial, joined the party of reaction against the Reformation, and took part actively in the persecution of reformers. In particular he was concerned in the torture of Anne Askue, a lady of the Court, who had denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He and Wriothesley, said she, as is written in "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," "took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was well-nigh dead." The story is, says Froude, "perhaps the darkest page in the history of any English statesman." The suggestion for the defence that Rich did the racking himself because he wished to make sure that it was done gently has failed to convince the historians.

It seems strange, after this, that Rich should have managed to flourish in the reign of Edward VI. Nevertheless, he did so. Henry VIII. had given instructions that he should be made a peer, and on February 26th, 1547-48, he was created Baron Rich

☛ The House of Rich



After the picture by Holbein.

THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

of Leighs,¹ in Essex; and in October of the same year he succeeded Wriothesley as Lord Chancellor. It is

¹ Leez or Leighs Priory was part of the plunder that fell to Rich's share. On its acquisition in 1537 he pulled down the monastic buildings, and erected a mansion with a base court, approached by a gateway on its

Warwick Castle

said that he had intrigued Wriothesley out of the post, and we can well believe it. Presently he had to make up his mind whether he would side for or against the Lord Protector Somerset. Swimming with the tide as usual, he took part against him, and brought in the bill of pains and penalties whereby he was deprived of all his offices. Religious persecutions ensued, and it was at his house that the eighth session of the Court to try Bishop Gardiner was held. Illness obliged him shortly afterwards to resign the Lord Chancellorship; but he was one of the commission who decided against Bonner's appeal in 1553, and in July of the same year he signed the Council's answer to Mary's remonstrance, declaring her a bastard, and proclaiming Lady Jane Grey as Queen.

One might have supposed that he had at last committed himself irretrievably and sealed his fate. He had done nothing of the kind. He changed his mind, went down into Essex, pronounced for Mary, and entertained her at Wanstead on her way to London. The result was that he flourished in her reign as he had flourished in that of her predecessor, being sworn of her Council, and officiating at her coronation. As he had abetted the Reformation, so he now abetted the counter-Reformation. The fires of Felstead were a good second to the fires of Smithfield,

south side, and offices about its quadrangle; on the east of this court was an entrance gateway into a smaller court, about which the residential part was built. All but the gateway was pulled down in 1750. The town house of Lord Rich was in Clothfair, Smithfield. It still has his arms and coronet, and was erected about 1620.

● The House of Rich

and Foxe attributes them to the fanaticism of Richard Rich, though fanaticism is, perhaps, hardly the word to apply to the proceedings of such a time-server.

How, after all this, Rich managed to hold up his head in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one is at a loss to understand; but the fact remains that he did so. In 1558 he was appointed to accompany her to London. In December of the same year he was placed on a commission to enquire into lands granted during the late reign; and in 1566 he was summoned to discuss the question of the Queen's marriage. He died at Rochford, Essex, on June 12th, 1567, and was buried in Felstead Church.

He was a bad man. Dixon is fully justified in the statement that his is "one of the most ominous names in the history of the age." There is absolutely nothing to be recorded to his credit, except a few charitable benefactions. In 1554 he founded a chaplaincy at Felstead and made provision for masses and dirges. After these institutions had been abolished by the Government of Queen Elizabeth, he founded almshouses (rebuilt in 1878) and a grammar school—a very good grammar school, which has had Isaac Barrow and two of Oliver Cromwell's sons among its scholars, and now flourishes exceedingly under the head-mastership of Mr. Dalton.

CHAPTER II

The Family of Richard Rich—Robert Rich and his Wife Penelope—The Levity of Penelope Rich and her Relations with Sir Philip Sidney—The Poems addressed to her by him and other Admirers—Her Divorce and Second Marriage—The Second Marriage of Robert Rich, and his Quarrel with the Earl of Devonshire.

RICHARD RICH, the Lord Chancellor, did not contract an aristocratic marriage. His wife was Elizabeth Jenks, the daughter of a London grocer. He had five sons and ten daughters; and the "Dictionary of National Biography" thus summarises the fortunes of his family:—

"Of the sons, Sir Hugh, the second, was buried at Felsted on 27 Nov., 1554; the eldest, Robert (1537?—1581), succeeded to the title, and, unlike his father, accepted the doctrines of the Reformation. He was employed on various diplomatic negotiations by Elizabeth, and was one of the judges who tried the Duke of Norfolk for his share in the Ridolfi plot. He was succeeded in the title by his second son, Robert (afterwards Earl of Warwick). Of the daughters, Elizabeth married Sir Robert Peyton (d. 1590); Winifred (d. 1578) married, first, Sir Henry Dudley, eldest son of the future Protector, Northumberland, and, secondly, Roger, second Lord North, by whom she was mother of Sir John North; Ethelreda or



After the picture by Holbein in His Majesty's collection at Windsor.

ELIZABETH, LADY RICH.

Warwick Castle ♡

Audrey married Robert, son of Sir William Drury of Hawsted, Suffolk, and cousin of Sir William Drury; Frances married John, Lord D'Arcy of Chiche (d. 1580), son of the lord chamberlain to Edward VI."

Decidedly Richard Rich was more successful in marrying his children than in marrying himself. We may pass on to consider the case of his grandson, Robert Rich, the first Rich to be created Earl of Warwick.

He was only a person of moderate importance, and the list of his distinctions is a short one. He was captain of a troop of horse in 1589, a member of Gray's Inn in 1591, an M.A. of Cambridge in 1595, a volunteer with the fleet against Cadiz in 1596, a Lord Attendant on the Ambassador to France in the same year, a J.P. for Essex and a Privy Councillor in 1603, and was created Earl of Warwick for no particular reason in 1618. And that is all. It is as the husband of Penelope Rich that he was best known in his lifetime and has now his best claim to be remembered.

Penelope Rich was the daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, by his wife Lettice Knollys, whom we have already mentioned in writing of her second husband, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The name Penelope, it may be said at once, was very inappropriately chosen for her. She resembled the Penelope of the "Odyssey" in being a married woman with a multitude of suitors; but

• The House of Rich

she did not resemble the original Penelope in her attitude towards them. She "had from the first," as the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography" gravely puts it, "an attenuated regard for the marriage tie."

It had been her wish, and her father's wish, that she should marry Sir Philip Sidney. Her father, indeed, tried to arrange the match on his death-bed, and two months after his death his secretary, Edward Waterhouse, wrote on the subject to Philip's father, Sir Henry Sidney: "Its breaking off, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonour than can be repaired by any other marriage in England." The protest, however, did not prevent the engagement, if there actually was one, from being violated. Penelope's guardian, Lord Huntingdon, intervened on behalf of Robert Rich, who had just succeeded to the title of Baron Rich of Leighs, and whom he described to Burghley as "a proper gentleman, and one in years very fit for my lady Penelope Devereux." The marriage took place in the spring of 1581. The story is told that the Lady Penelope screamed her protests as she was led to the altar; but it is not impossible that this story was invented afterwards to explain and excuse her levity.

The fact of her levity is not to be disputed; though there are two theories as to the character of her relations with Sir Philip Sidney, who laid the flowers of poetry at her feet, calling himself "Astrophel" and addressing

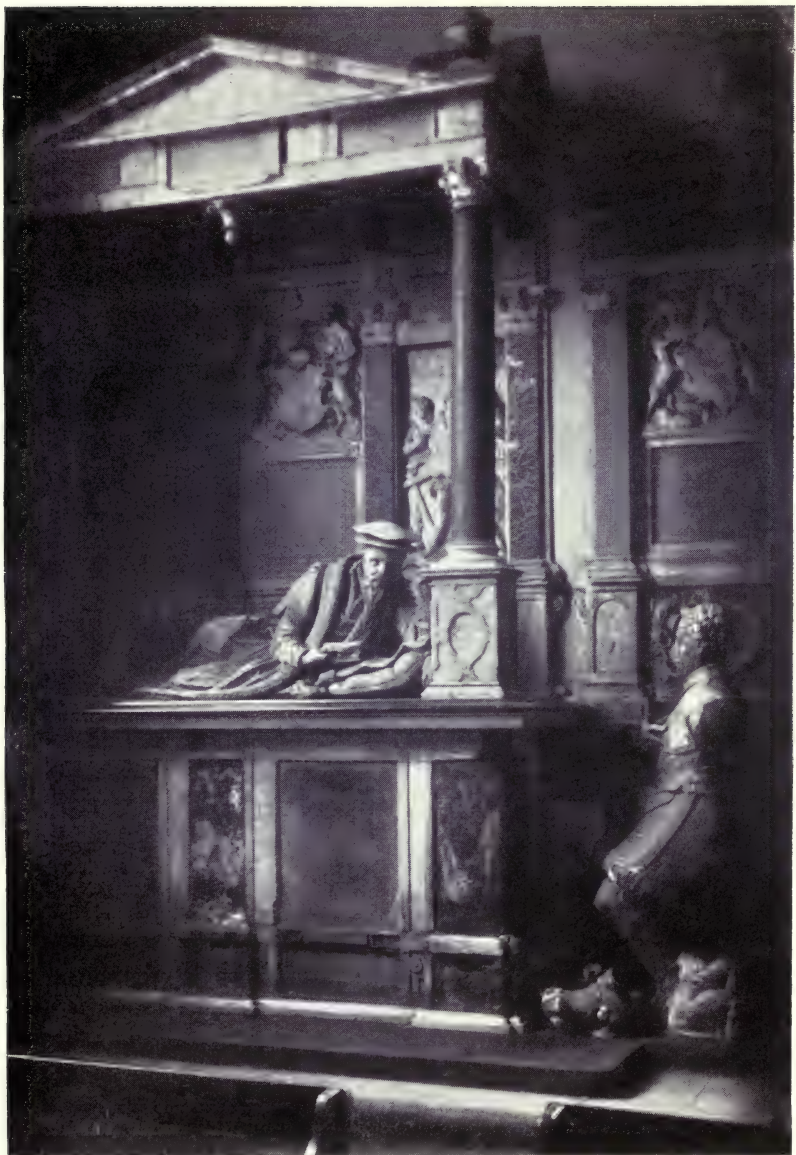
Warwick Castle

her as "Stella." His descendant's introduction to an edition of Sir Philip's songs and sonnets takes the view that those relations were innocent and pure, stating her case thus :—

" 'Astrophel's' admiration for 'Stella' became steadily stronger when he discovered that he had lost her. Absence tended to make the poet's heart grow fonder, and the love-songs that he dedicated to her were the pure, passionate, irresistible, and unrestrained outpourings of his very soul. They represented a prolonged and deadly struggle, raging within Sir Philip's conscience between temptation and virtue, between desire and honour, from which, however, he emerged triumphant and unspotted, whilst his relations with his lost love continued to remain scarcely more than Platonic, though romantic, yet undefiled by any sense of shame.

"The purity of his conduct was never doubted by his contemporaries, who sympathised with him in the anguish which they knew was so keenly agitating him when, to distract his mind, he endeavoured to find relief in unburdening himself in song."

This lenient view, however, hardly seems to me to be borne out by the text of the sonnets themselves. They certainly show more derision than respect for her husband, making very insolent puns upon his name, and lamenting that the lady had "no misfortune but that Rich she is." Sonnet XXIV., for instance, hardly breathes the true spirit of Platonism. It runs as follows :—



From a photograph.

THE TOMB OF RICHARD, LORD RICH, IN FELSTEAD CHURCH, ESSEX.

Warwick Castle ♣

Rich fools there be whose base and filthy heart
Lies hatching still the goods wherein they flow,
And damning their own selves to Tantal's smart,
Wealth breeding want, more rich, more wretched grow :
Yet to those fools Heav'n doth such wit impart,
As what their hands do hold, their heads do know,
And knowing love, and loving lay apart
As sacred things, far from all danger's show.

But that rich fool, who by blind fortune's lot
The richest gem of love and life enjoys,
And can with foul abuse such beauties blot ;
Let him, depriv'd of sweet but unfelt joys,
Exil'd for aye from those high treasures which
He knows not, grow in only folly Rich !

It must be noted, moreover, that the flow of Sidney's sonnets was no more interrupted by his own marriage than by Lady Penelope's, and that his love for her was one of the things to which Spenser thought it necessary to draw attention when writing elegiac verse after his death. "To her," he says—

To her he vowed the service of his days ;
On her he spent the riches of his wit ;
For her he made hymns of immortal praise,
Of only her he sang, he thought, he writ.

Nor was Sir Philip Sidney the only poet who found in impertinence to the husband the best means of flattering the wife. John Davies and Henry Constable were other offenders. Constable's sonnet is, perhaps, the best to quote :—

Heraulds at armes doe three perfections quote,
To wit, most faire, most ritch, most glittering :
So when those three concur within one thing,
Neeedes must that thing of honor be, of note.

Lately did I behold a ritch faire coate,
 Which wished Fortune to mine eyes did bring,
 A lordly coate, yet worthy of a King,
 Wherein all these perfections one might note.
 A field of Lyllies, roses proper bare,
 Two starres in chiefe, the Crest was waues of gold,
 How glittering 'twas, might by the starres appeare,
 The Lillies made it faire for to behold.
 And ritch it was as by the gold appeareth,
 But happy he that in his armes it weareth.

Decidedly the virtues of Penelope Rich did not run upon the conventional connubial lines. She bore her husband several children: Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick; Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; Sir Charles Rich (d. 1627); Lettice, wife of Sir George Carey of Cockington; Penelope, wife of Sir Gervase Clifton; Essex, wife of Sir Thomas Cheke of Pirgo; and Isabel, who married twice. But she then acquired a new admirer, her relations with whom were open and avowed.

This new lover was Charles Blount, eighth Lord Mountjoy. Her husband seems to have been aware of her attachment for him, and to have acquiesced in it. At all events he left her living with him when he took part in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596, and again when he attended Lord Shrewsbury on his embassy to France in 1597; and she showed her gratitude by nursing him tenderly through a dangerous illness in 1600. In 1601, however, they separated. Her own story was that Robert Rich deserted her. However that may be, she lived in open concubinage

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with Lord Mountjoy, subsequently created Earl of Devonshire, and admitted that he was father of her children—Mountjoy Blount, subsequently Earl of Newport, and two others.

Her acknowledged improprieties did not, however, impair her position at Court. "In May, 1603," says the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography," "she was one of the noble ladies who went to the border to meet Queen Anne and escort her to London. After the accession of James I. she received a full share of the favours which were showered on the friends of her late brother, and became one of the most prominent figures in Court festivities. The king granted her on 17 Aug. 1603 'the place and rank of the ancientest Earl of Essex, called Bouchier, whose heir her father was.' By this grant she took precedence of all the baronesses of the kingdom, and of the daughters of all earls, except Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, and Shrewsbury. On Twelfth Night 1605 she took part at Court in the performance of Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Blackness.'"

About this period—and not before it was time—she and her husband agreed to a divorce. He at once proceeded to marry Frances, daughter of the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Christopher Wray, and widow of Sir George Paul, of Snarford, Lincolnshire. She at once married her lover, the ceremony being performed at Wanstead by William Laud, afterwards so notorious in the capacity of Archbishop. The King, who had condoned the intrigue, was, for some undiscoverable

● The House of Rich

reason, indignant at the marriage, and excluded both the Earl and Countess from his Court. Devonshire defended himself in a letter to the King, in which he cast severe reflections upon Rich's marital behaviour ; and there was an open feud.

"About the same time," says a letter printed in "The Court and Times of James I.," "grew a difference between two lords of the Upper House, who by chance met together in the king's little chamber there, namely, Devon and Rich. Foul words passed, and the lie, as I am informed, given to Devon. The event is in expectation."

Nothing came of it, however, and there is nothing more to be recorded in this unsatisfactory chapter. Penelope Rich died soon afterwards, in 1607, and is better forgotten than remembered. Robert Rich was created Earl of Warwick, rather on account of his position in the country than because of his personal merits, in 1618, and died in the following year. One thinks of him as a colourless, poor-spirited man. It can hardly have been from him that his illustrious son, Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, inherited his very remarkable qualities.

CHAPTER III

Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick—His Early Piratical Enterprises—
His Passage through the Spanish Armado—His Connection with the
Colonies and Plantations—State Documents bearing on the Subject.

ROBERT RICH, second Earl of Warwick, was the greatest of all the representatives of the House of Rich. He lived in times of transition and confusion, and he played a prominent and, upon the whole, a creditable part in them. His birth gave him great advantages; and after the violence of his youth had spent itself, he used his opportunities for his country's good.

Born in 1587, he began life as a Cambridge man and a courtier. He was admitted an undergraduate of Emmanuel College in 1603, and he took part in tiltings and masques. But tiltings and masques afforded an inadequate outlet for his active temperament. As Arthur Wilson put it in his "History of the Reign of James I.": —

"Though he had all those excellent endowments of body and fortune that give splendour to a glorious court, yet he used it but as his recreation; for his spirit aimed at more public adventures, planting colonies in the western world rather than himself in the King's favour."

• The House of Rich

In the reign of James I., therefore, we find him engaged in piratical enterprises, the taste for which he had apparently inherited from his father. It was, on the whole, rather a disgraceful business, and Professor



From the picture by Vandyke.

ROBERT RICH, SECOND EARL OF WARWICK

Gardiner, the great historian of the period, comments upon the subject with severity.

“There was,” he writes, “something peculiarly disgraceful in the promotion of Rich. If there was one thing upon which James prided himself, it was his

hatred of piracy. At the very moment at which the new earl's patent was being sealed, the King was planning an attack upon Algiers, and was preparing to bring Raleigh to the scaffold. Yet Rich had done coolly and deliberately what was far worse than anything perpetrated by Raleigh under the strongest possible temptation. With him piracy had degenerated into a mere commercial speculation. In 1616, he had fitted out two vessels under the flag of the Duke of Savoy, and had sent them to the West Indies, from whence, after a cruise of eighteen months, they had returned laden with Spanish treasures. Nor was his son, the inheritor of his title, and the future Lord High Admiral of the Commonwealth, any better. In conjunction with a Genoese merchant, residing in London, he despatched two piratical vessels to the East. Their first act was to attack a rich junk belonging to the mother of the Great Mogul. If it had not been for the fortunate interposition of the fleet of the East India Company, which came up before the contest was decided, the result of Rich's selfish enterprise would have been the closing of the busiest marts in India to English commerce."

The son, however, was not, like the father, satisfied with equipping expeditions, but went to sea himself. In March, 1627, Charles I. gave him a privateering commission, and he set out and tried to capture the Brazil fleet. The fleet escaped him, but he returned from the expedition with credit. We have some account of it in two letters published in the collection entitled "The Court and Times of Charles I."

This is the first letter:—

“I omitted in my last, sir, to inform you of my Lord Warwick’s return from his unfortunate voyage, where, instead of the Brazilian fleet, which he had waited for two months about the islands, having met with the King of Spain’s galleons, his ship was so beset and battered, that he had much ado to escape, and was forced presently to come home, leaving the rest of his fleet behind, saving one pinnace, that is come along with him. His vice-admiral, wherewith Sir Francis Steward is, he hath not seen, as I hear, since their departure out of England, neither doth know what is become of him. Nevertheless, he doth not give over, but doth intend to put to sea again, which I suppose he will scarce be able to do this year.”

And this is the second:—

“On Tuesday, the 14th, my Lord of Warwick came to London, having the same day kissed the king’s hand at Windsor. His Lordship goes no more to sea this summer, but sends out his ships to serve till they have spent out their victuals. He was never sick one hour at sea, and would as nimbly climb up to top and yard as any common mariner in the ship: and all the time of the fight was as active, and as open to danger, as any man there.”

There also exists his own account of his adventures, under the title “A True Relation of my Lord of Warwick’s Passage through the Spanish Armatho, single in his Own Ship, near the Rock of Lisbon, the 4th of July, 1627.” It was printed in the “Miscellany of

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the Abbotsford Club" in 1837. I give it, but with the spelling modernised:—

"Upon Sunday, being the first of July, towards night, there came a Captain Renegado Portugalo that had been in my company some three days before, from whom I redeemed 2 English captives, and told me he had descried the Brazil fleet to the southward,—that they could hardly weather Cape Pitcher, the wind being northwardly. Whereupon I gave orders to set sail, having been all that day becalmed, being west-south-west of the Rock about 7 leagues; and in the morning I got the entrance of the River of Lisbon by the dawning of that day, and, at the sunrising, perceiving that they were not come in to Cascales, we cast about and stood off right to sea the way that they should come in. And having stood for 3 hours I willed the *Turk* to run ahead, having an excellent sailing ship, to see if he could descry them, it being very foggy again. After some 3 glasses the *Turk* returned and told me they were hard by standing in to the shore, some 30 sail of them. So I cast about after them, my Vice-Admiral and Rear being so to windward of me some 2 or 3 leagues, I supposing that when they heard my ordnance they would come round to me. For, in less than half an hour, I fell near the Admiral of the Galleons and other four great galleons of his fleet, who supposed me to be of their own fleet in the mist; for I bore up with them within half a musket shot, the Admiral having his mainsail brailed, which as soon as I had made, I cast about again presently

from them. Two of them tacked about after us. We were no sooner about but there sailed off one of their pinnaces right ahead of us; so we beat upon him and did all that we could to run over him, who escaped very narrowly close under our lee, but we paid him soundly, both with our great ordnance and small shot, which did so amaze them that they knew not which way to go. At which instant 3 other galleons were close on the weather bow of me, which I likewise saluted with my whole broadside and small shot as they passed by me severally, who presently cast about after me: the Vice-Admiral with his squadron being 6 ships. One was the *George*, an English ship, one Maltese of Biotan, who gave us chase also; so I commanded all things ready to be prepared for their entertainment, and the first that came up close to me I saluted with a broadside, and so plied him with small shot that (by the help of God) we shot down his maintop sail, and did so tear him that he durst not stay any longer, but bore up under our stern and lay by the lee, and we saw her no more.

“A second came up with us close, and after an exchange of 2 or 3 broadsides he tacked about with intent (as I supposed) to have given us another broadside; but it pleased God we lighted so right upon him with our double and cross-bar shot that he also left us and was glad to be gone. When I saw myself so sure engaged and seen of them, and that they had got the wind of me, I resolved that we must outrun them; and it pleased God so to order it for us, the

mist some time thickening, that all the fleet could not see us that were to leeward of us, but followed after by the sound of the ordnance.

“A third man came up, the bravest and valiantest captain in the whole fleet, and near discharged a piece, until he came within less than a pistol shot, with intent to board us: whom we likewise welcomed with the best we had, which we were not sparing of, but we sent it him freely, and our case shot took such effect that, with discharge of a great brass port piece that lay upon our half deck, there was a great and grievous cry amongst them—*O vale me Deus*. Whereat they fell off and lay by the lee. Some of our shot having hit him betwixt wind and water, some of my men discerned she was sunk a yard deep.

“Then their Vice-Admiral came up in the weather of us (the mist being more clearer), and 5 galleons more with him. We stood on still with our boat at our stern, our flag and bloody colours flying; but he was not so good a soldier as he had a ship, which had 40 pieces of brass ordnance (as our Portingale prisoner told us). When he came right in the wind of us, he lost in the wind to make shot at us afar off, which we answered again, and so was still now and then in the wind, by which occasion he fell astern, and so we went through the fleet. He, with five more, still gave me chase, but after some 3 hours two of them tacked about (as we conceived), spying Sir Francis Stuart, which was our Vice-Admiral, and all this while to windward of us. How he sped I do

not know yet ; but still the Vice-Admiral and two more continued following us. Two of them kept very near us in our weather quarter, beating upon us and we at them ; but they durst not come within musket shot of us.

“ It growing late, and the *Jonathan* being now in our company, so it grew dark, and their Vice-Admiral shot off a piece and drew them off, and I am persuaded they were not sorry, for they durst not come near us, although they went better than we. All our men behaved themselves passing well, and showed themselves to be true-hearted Englishmen. In which fight we had but three men killed outright with great shot, and six men hurt with splinters and small shot. We had some 12 men sorely hurt by a horn of powder and 3 or 4 cartridges of powder that took fire in our ship by negligence of a match. We received some shot from them, but none to any prejudice.

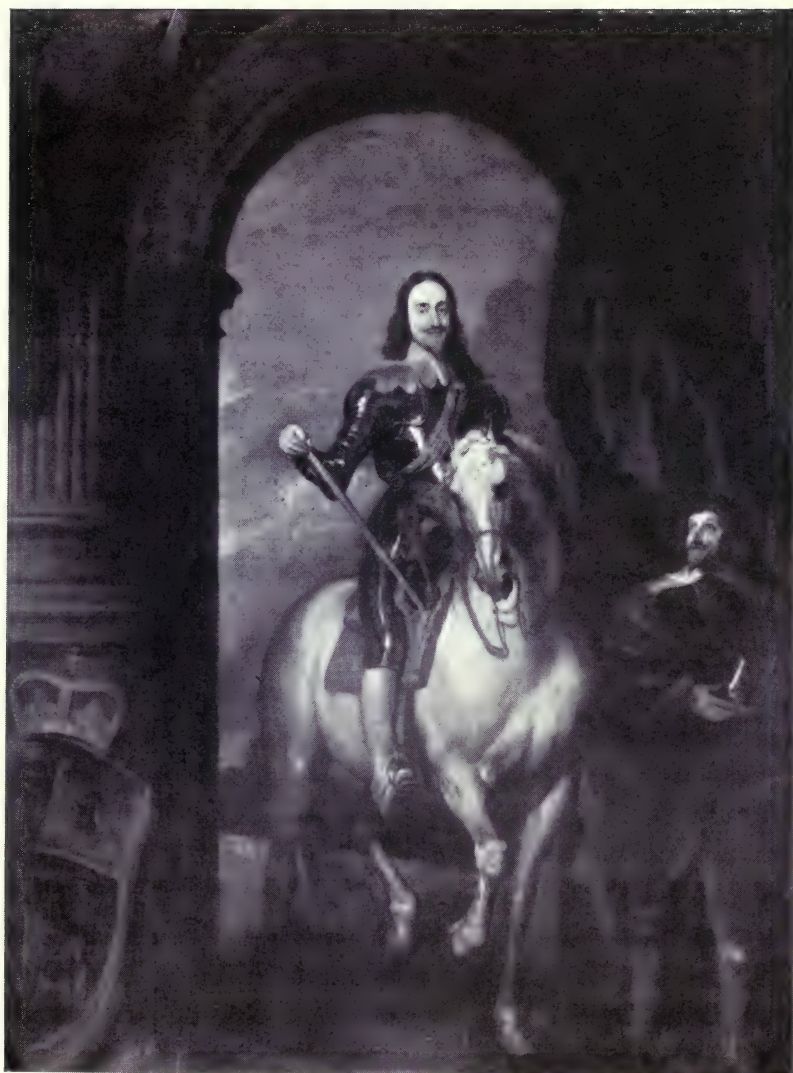
“ Then I shaped my course for the Western Islands, and after 6 days had sight of St. Michael's and St. Mary's. We lay long becalmed under the east end of St. Michael's, being a continual fog, where our men fell down very fast of the scurvy and calenture, so that Captain Montague, our Rear-Admiral (who was only without now), came aboard us with his officers of his ship with him, making a great complaint that of six score and five men he had, one hundred were fallen down and in great extremity, besides those he had heaved dead overboard, so that he had but

nine men a watch. Whereupon considering if I sent her away alone homeward it might be the loss of her, having so many sick, and having many sick in my own ship also, and the wind being contrary (and water failing us), and not knowing how long we might be getting to Flores and Corvo (whither we intended to go), and having need of our small sloop and pinnaces, whose stay was the overthrow of our designs both by sea and land: Upon this consideration it was thought fit, by a general consent of both our ships' companies, to beat up for our own coast, to refresh our men and repair our defects,—which accordingly we did haste home again, and arrived at Plymouth the one St. James's Day, at night, 1627."

So the Earl's story goes. It is not because of its literary polish that I have given it at length, but because the character of the man is at least partially sketched in it. He alone of the Riches stands out conspicuously as a man of action. He was a strong man and a cheerful man; he could keep up his spirits in misfortune. Probably he was the most jolly and the least Puritanical of the Puritans with whose cause he was presently to be associated, and to whom he was to prove such a pillar of strength.

How he first came to be drawn to Puritanism is not absolutely clear; but the probability is that he acquired Puritanical opinions gradually, as the result of his association with Puritans in the business of colonial enterprise.

Two causes co-operated in the foundation of our



From the picture by Vandyke in Warwick Castle.

KING CHARLES I.

Warwick Castle

colonies in New England and Virginia. There were emigrants who crossed the seas for the sake of the religious liberty to be found beyond them; there were also men who interested themselves in the movement as a commercial speculation. The two classes no doubt influenced each other; and the knowledge of the freedom (political as well as religious) enjoyed in America must have stimulated the desire for the enjoyment of a similar freedom in England.

From the middle of the reign of James I. onwards the Earl of Warwick was much concerned with the "plantations," as the American colonies were then styled. The fact is attested by quite a series of State papers. As early as 1614 the "Colonial Entry Book" records a "Grant to Henry Earl of Southampton, Lucy Countess of Bedford, Will. Earl of Pembroke, Will. Lord Paget, Will. Lord Cavendish, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Robt. Rich, Sir Thos. Smythe, and others, of incorporation, by the name of the Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somers Islands, with sole government and power to make laws, conformable to the Laws of England."

Warwick's relations with the other grantees were not, however, entirely harmonious. They did not approve of the privateering which he carried on simultaneously with these more respectable speculations; and the "Colonial Entry Book" for 1623 contains a record of his friction with them. Thus:—

"Order of the Privy Council. Upon complaint of the Earl of Warwick and the principal adventurers

in the plantation of Virginia and the Somers Islands, who with the Virginia Company were directed to attend the Commissioners for examination into grievances and abuses of government, against an impertinent declaration, containing bitter invectives and aspersions upon the Earl of Warwick and others, styled his instruments and agents. Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas and John Ferrar, of the Virginia Company, the chief actors in the inditing and penning thereof, to be confined to their several houses until further order, as guilty of a contempt of the commands of the Council Table."

Feeling ran so high that Warwick gave Cavendish the lie, and a duel between them was only prevented by the vigilance of the Government. An account of the occurrence is given in a letter to the Countess of Warwick, first printed in *Notes and Queries*, from a MS. in the possession of the Duke of Manchester, in 1867. It runs thus:—

"NOBLE LADIE,

"I came yesterneight heither from the Court, ande founde here your ladyship's letters, expressinge your great care of your absent lord. I likewise received the declaration made by Sr Dudley Carleton (Embassador at the Hage) of his receite of the lord's Letters, and severall others from me, written to prevente the meetinge of the earle and lord Cavendish, and of his care, and directions geven for the staye of the Duell; of w^h and the waye the earle tooke to gett

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into the Netherlands, I woulde have advertised your Ladyshipe this morninge, but as I was puttinge my penn to the paper, I was called to a meetinge of the lords at Whithall: And inquiringe of my noble friends what they had heard of the earle, M^r Secretary Calvert told me that he went from England in a small boate laden wth Salte, apparalled like a marchant; and beinge inquired after by force of letters written to M^r Trumball (legat for his Ma^{tie} att Brussells), he was found and stayd at Gaunt. M^r Secretarye tells me that upon knowledge thereof he writ to such of his friends ther as woulde assuredly delyver it, to tell his lo^p that the Kinge requir'd him to make his retourne home; and thinkes he is upon his waye heyther: when he come, I wish his lo^p to repayr to his owne house, and by some of his friends to make knowne his beinge ther unto the Earle Marshall, and to receive his lo^p's orders and directions before he come abroade; for the King expects information from his lo^p before his Ma^{tie} will give further directions concerninge the Earle or the l. Cavendish. Now that your Ladyshipe knowes that your noble lord is so neare his retourne, you will I hope leave to disquite yourself as you have done by reason of his absence. With my best wishes, I kisse your fayre hands, and am your ladiship's humble and faythfull Servant,

“ARTHURE CHICHESTER.

“Hollbourne, the 12th of August, 1623.

“To the right Honorable and most wourthy
Ladye the Countisse of Warwicke.”

Decidedly, at this period of his career, the Earl of Warwick was very far from Puritanism as Puritanism is generally understood. But he learned sense, moderation, and discretion as he grew older. In 1628 and 1629, indeed, he was still privateering, and some of his captures involved him in litigation¹ which dragged on for years; but there is evidence of increasing wisdom in the reports of some of his colonial proceedings. He was now associated in these matters with Lord Brooke, who was more of an idealist, though not, perhaps, so strong a man; and the influence of Lord Brooke was no doubt salutary. The minutes of a meeting, at Brooke House, of the Company of Adventurers for Providence Island, on November 22nd, 1630, show reasonable perception, in advance of the age, of the proper methods of colonial administration. I extract it from the "Colonial Entry Book":—

"Lords Warwick and Brooke to undertake the

¹ There is the following reference to the suit in the Appendix to Report IV. of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.:—

"1641, Aug. 26.—Petition of Robert Earl of Warwick. In 1629 petitioner set out a ship with letters of marque, the mariners in which were to have shares of all ships and goods taken, which should prove prize. A ship called the *St. Augustine* was taken, worth £5,000; but Mr. William Langhorne claimed the ship on behalf of a Jew named Mezzola, and Sir Henry Marten, judge of the Admiralty Court, had the ship valued at £2,500 and declared her no prize. This sentence was reversed in the Delegates' Court, but meantime Sir Henry Marten had allowed Langhorne to have the ship on bail of 200 marks, so that petitioner lost all benefit of the capture, and has been unable to satisfy the ship's company. Prays for satisfaction from William Langhorne and Sir Henry Marten."

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care of providing arms and ammunition for the Company's use. Each adventurer to obtain as many men and boys as are willing to be employed in the Company's service; to report their number to the deputy, who is to take care that as many as are thought good to be shipped be ready by 10 Jan. next. The first sort, labourers, to have half the profits of the land they cultivate, adventurers the other half; the second, artificers, to share also half their profits with the Company, or else be allowed meat and drink, and 5*l.* a year wages; and the third sort, the apprentices, above 14 years of age, to be taken for a term of years, and allowed meat, and drink, and clothes, during their apprenticeship, reasonable recompence to be given to those who 'have any particular faculty.' Artificers and labourers there to have the benefit of receiving such apprentices, upon paying for tools and clothes out of the Company's magazine."

The subject is one to which we shall have to refer again in the book dealing with the annals of the House of Greville. For the present we may leave it. Home politics, and the notable part played by Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, in the struggle between King and Parliament, and the Civil War which was the outcome of that struggle, have, for the moment, a more urgent claim on our attention.

CHAPTER IV

Warwick's Opposition to the Policy of Charles I.—His Action in the Matter of Ship-money—Clarendon's Opinion of him—The Scramble for the Fleet at the Beginning of the Civil War—How the Earl of Warwick secured the Fleet for the Parliament—Official Correspondence on the Subject—Warwick as a Commander of Militia—His Determination to have Good Discipline.

IT would be too long a business to enumerate here all the points that were at issue between Charles I. and his Parliament. The King was not, in intention, a bad man ; but he stood too much upon his dignity, and had a quite unconstitutional conception of his own importance. The Parliamentarians, on their part, were not, to begin with, truculent Republicans ; but they were severely jealous of rights which appertained to them, not as privileged individuals, but as the elected representatives of the English people. This conflict of ideals and resolutions had existed long before Charles came to the throne, but it was then emphasised and accentuated. The King was more obstinate than his predecessors ; and his Parliaments were less disposed than previous Parliaments to stand nonsense. It was as though express trains were running in opposite directions on the same line of rails. Eventual collision was inevitable ; and it was also inevitable that the collision would be serious and disastrous.

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Naturally men began to take sides before the quarrel had quite come to a head ; and most of the peers were included among the Royal partisans. But there were some notable exceptions, of whom the most notable were Lords Stamford and Brooke, and the Earls of Essex and Warwick.

Warwick was, for many years, in resolute opposition to the Royal policy. It would be difficult, indeed, to name any prominent department of that policy which he did not oppose. He opposed the revival of the Forest Laws ; he opposed the Laudian Church policy, bestowing the livings in his gift upon Puritans ; he was one of the seven peers who signed the letter to Scottish leaders in June, 1640, and was one of the signatories to the petition of twelve peers in the following September. Last, but not least, he fomented the resistance to the levying of ship-money in the county of Essex.

Every school-boy is supposed to know what ship-money was ; and no doubt every school-boy does know. But some grown-up people may have forgotten. For their enlightenment, therefore, an explanation may be volunteered.

The trouble dates from 1634, when the King discovered that he wanted a fleet to fight the French and Dutch. Attorney-General Noy declared that it would be in accordance with precedent to call upon the coast towns to furnish ships. Writs for the purpose were issued, and the towns were told that they might, if they chose, pay money instead of

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After the picture by Vandyke in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury.

ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK.

supplying ships. Emboldened by his success, Charles issued a second writ in 1635, sending it this time, not to the maritime towns alone, but to every shire in England. "As all," said the Privy Council, "are concerned in the mutual defence of one another, so

all might put to their helping hands." The argument was sound, but it was met by the equally well-founded proposition that, as the occasion was not one of emergency, Parliament, and not the King, should judge whether the ships, and the money for the ships, were needed. So, though Charles obtained a declaration from the judges that the requisition was legal, a good many of the subjects, both prominent and insignificant, declined to pay. In our school-books we read chiefly of the recalcitrance of John Hampden. Warwick, with whom Hampden, as well as Pym and Lords Brooke and Say and Sele, had been associated in the administration of Providence Island, was not less recalcitrant. He stood up to the King and reasoned with him, as is set forth in Professor Gardiner's great history.

"Charles," says Professor Gardiner, "was hourly besieged with cries for war and a Parliament. He had no mind for either. He turned sharply upon Warwick, in whose county of Essex the collection of ship-money was as backward as might have been expected in a district still under the lash of the Forest Court. In many places the money could only be obtained by the distraint and sale of cattle; and in one instance a horse which had been sold had been carried off by force from its purchaser by its original owner. Charles blamed Warwick as a supporter of this insubordination of his tenants. Warwick's reply was couched in terms far plainer than Danby's letter had been. His tenants, he said, were old men, and had been accustomed to the mild government of

Queen Elizabeth and King James. They could not bring themselves to consent, at the end of their lives, to so notable a prejudice to the liberties of the kingdom; nor were they willing voluntarily to deprive their posterity of those benefits which they had themselves inherited from their ancestors as a sacred deposit, though they were ready, one and all, to sacrifice life and goods for his Majesty. If only the King would join France in a war for the Palatinate, and would maintain his own sovereignty over the sea, Parliament would gladly furnish all the supplies he needed."

The man who had taken this line was a marked man. There could be no doubt on which side he would be found when the trouble came to a head. There could be less doubt, in view of the fact that, after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, he had been arrested, and his house had been searched by the King's order. Already, in June, 1640, we find Lord Conway writing thus to Laud about him and his brother: "The Earl of Warwick is the temporal head of the Puritans, and the Earl of Holland is their spiritual; or rather the one is their visible and the other their invisible head." But he was rather a political than a religious dissenter, though not, one conjectures, a less formidable opponent to the Royalist party upon that account. The description of him in the Duke of Manchester's "Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne," as "a Puritan sailor of very unpuritanical manners," is fully borne out by the

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thumb-nail sketch of him given by Lord Clarendon in his history of the Rebellion.

He "was a man," Clarendon tells us, "of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of an unusual jollity; and such a licence in his words and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out; so that one might reasonably have believed, that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who, in the beginning of the troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers, in the time when there was authority to silence them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party, and got the style of a godly man."

Such was the man to whom the Parliament looked for nautical assistance when the outbreak of hostilities became imminent.

Before the King raised his standard at Nottingham on the memorable August 22nd, 1642, there was, so to say, a scramble between the two parties for the mastery of the fleet. On March 10th, 1642, the House of Commons passed a resolution that Northumberland, the Lord High Admiral, should be requested to give Warwick the command. The King, who had left Whitehall in the previous January, gave contrary

orders for the appointment of Sir John Pennington. Northumberland, however, yielded to the wishes of the Commons, and gave Warwick his commission. He was in command on May 10th, for a letter of that date preserved among the Duke of Portland's MSS. at Welbeck Abbey¹ speaks of "two men of war, part of the Earl of Warwick's fleet." Charles, however, after a delay of three months, which I cannot account for, renewed the struggle. On June 28th he dismissed Northumberland from his office, and sent Warwick a message calling upon him to resign. The House of Commons retorted on July 1st by passing an ordinance instructing Warwick to continue in command.

Warwick had now to decide which of the two conflicting authorities he would obey. He decided to obey the Parliament, and sent the King the following reply :—

"1642, July 5.—Aboard the *James* in the Downs.—

¹ "Sir Edward Ayscoghe, Sir Christopher Wray, Sir Samuel Owfield, and Thomas Hatcher to William Lenthall.

"1642, May 10.—Kingston-upon-Hull.—On receipt of the order of both Houses yesterday we instantly hired two ships, and this day put on board half the cannon with a good quantity of powder, match and bullet, and prepared a considerable number of muskets to be shipped to-morrow morning with the rest of the cannon. We hope within a few days to have dispatched the greatest part of that which is most needful, having two men of war, part of the Earl of Warwick's fleet, ready to waft them to London, which arrived here on Sunday last, sent for that purpose. We have likewise given the Sheriff the opinion of the House concerning his warrants of restraint. There is much expectation of a great meeting at York on Thursday next by all the Gentry and Freeholders of the County, summoned thither by his Majesty's appointment and by a warrant of so unusual and high a strain that we have thought it good to send you herewith a copy."

Signed. Seal.

I have received your Majesty's letter of my dismissal to this service, and with it an Ordinance of Parliament for my continuation in this employment. I beseech your Majesty to consider into what a great streight I am brought between these two commands, as also of the weighty trust your Majesty's greatest Council hath put me in for the defence of your Majesty and your kingdoms, wherein I shall ever be ready to sacrifice life and all I have to serve your Majesty. Yet, Sir, I most humbly beg your pardon that I did not lay down my charge, your Majesty's command not coming by that way that it was imposed on me. And I hope your Majesty hath always been as well assured of my fidelity as of Sir John Pennington's or any other. And therefore I shall humbly beg of your Majesty I may not be divided between two commands, whereby your Majesty will lay the greatest of favours upon your servant, that night and day prays to God for your Majesty's long life and happiness."

His answer, not in the Royal hand, but in that of Sir Edward Nicholas, was as follows:—

"1642, July 13.—Newark.—According to your Lordship's request I have presented your letter to his Majesty, who I perceive is nothing satisfied with what your Lordship hath written, and commanded me to signify to you that his Majesty conceived that nothing could have induced your Lordship to commit High Treason."

Meanwhile, however, the scramble for the fleet had taken place, and, thanks to Warwick's rapid action and



From a photograph by L. C. Knightley Peach.

BRIDGE AND GATEWAY LEADING INTO THE COURTYARD, WARWICK CASTLE.

Warwick Castle

resolute energy, the Parliament had got possession of it. It is curious that the ordinary histories make so little of the incident. The reason of their reticence may be the expedition and tact with which Warwick carried through the task entrusted to him. As a matter of fact it was the most important episode of the early days of the Civil War. If the Royalists had had the command of the seas, they might very well have beaten the Parliament by importing reinforcements. We shall see later on what trouble they were able to cause when they did get possession of a fleet. Thanks to the Earl of Warwick, however, they began the war without one. His report of his annexation of the navy for the Parliamentary cause is given in a letter to his friend John Pym, who presented it to both Houses of Parliament, by whose orders it was "forthwith printed and published." It tells a story which deserves to be better known than it is. Therefore I print it here. This is the text:—

"MASTER PIM,

"Before these shall come to your hand, I make no doubt but Master Nicholls of the House of Commons hath made both Houses a Relation of what hath passed here since I received his Majesties Letters for the discharging me of the command of the Fleet, whereby I was entrusted; Now I called a Counsell of Warre, and acquainted them with his Majesties Letters, and likewise with the Ordinance of Parliament sent from the Houses for mee to continue

my charge, I confesse it was a great streight that I was put in betweene two commands that have so much power over mee, but when I consider the great care which I have ever observed in the Parliaments of this Kingdome, for the good and safety of the King and Kingdome, and every mans particular in them, and that they are that great counsell by whose authority the Kings of England have ever spoken to their Subjects; and likewise that the trust of this Fleete for the defence of his Majestie and the Kingdomes was committed to me, by them, and knowing the integrity of my owne heart to his Majesty, and Parliament, I resolved not to desert that charge committed to my trust wherein God (blessed be his Name for it) hath made mee hitherto so successefull; but to continue it untill I shall bee revoked by that authority that hath entrusted mee with it; which having declared to my Captaines at the Counsell of Warre, all of them unanimously and cheerefully tooke the same resolution excepting five, which was the Reare Admirall, Captaine Fogge, Captaine Burley, Captaine Slingsby, and Captaine Wake: All which five refused to come upon my Summons, as having no authority over them, and got together round that night to make their defence against mee, onely Captaine Burley came in, and submitted to me, whereupon in the morning I weighed my Anchors, and caused the rest of my Ships so to doe, and came to an Anchor round about them, and besieged them, and when I had made all things ready I summoned them, Sir John

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Mennes and Captaine Fogge came into mee, but Captaine Slingsby and Captaine Wake stood out, whereupon I let fly a gun over them, and sent them word I had turned up the Glasse upon them, if in that space they came not in they must looke for mee aboard them, I sent to them by my Boat, and most of the Boats in the Fleete, their answer was so peremptory that my Masters and Saylors grew so impatient on them, that although they had no Armes in their Boates at all, yet God gave them such courage, and resolution, as in a moment they entred them, tooke hold on their shrouds and seized upon these Captaines being armed with their Pistols and Swords, and strooke their Yards and Top-masts and brought them both to me; the like courage and resolution was never seene amongst unarmed men, so as all was ended without effusion of blood, which I must attribute to the great God of Heaven and Earth onely, who in the moment that I was ready to give fire on them, put such courage into our men to act it, and so saved much blood. I hope the Parliament will thinke of some course for all our Indempnities, and especially for the officers of the Navy, and principall for the Surveyour of the Navy, my Vice-Admirall, a very able and good man; For my selfe I doubt not but they that put me in this imployment will preserve me for serving them faithfully.

“I pray you Sir, be a meanes to Sir Robert Pie, and Mr. Greene, that some money may be sent us, for it hath beene often promised, but we heare not of

• The House of Rich

it. The weather continuing stormy so long together, that we spend our Masts and Top-masts, or some determent or other fals upon us daily, so that we are in great extremity for want of money. Thus having nothing else to trouble you for the present, onely that you will be pleased to acquaint your House of Commons with our proceedings, here I bid you farewell, and rest

“Your assured Friend,

“WARWICK.”

It is a notable letter from the pen of a notable man, and it prefaced considerable naval achievements. Those were not the days, however, when men specialised as soldiers or sailors, and it curiously happened that the Earl of Warwick began the Civil War with a command not in the navy but in the army. On October 2nd, 1642, he was appointed Captain-General of an army which the Parliament contemplated raising in addition to that under the Earl of Essex; but when, on November 23rd, in the same year, it was decided to have only a single general, he resigned his commission and went back to the fleet. The real fighting had not yet begun; but he was able to render services of great importance in the maintenance of that discipline that was so essential to victory.

The train-bands of Essex were not satisfied with their officers, and deputed one Captain Farres to make a complaint to Warwick. “You have withdrawn from you,” said Captain Farres, “the hearts of the Essex

soldiers who came with willing minds to perform noble service ; but the change of their Captains hath also changed their affections, neither will they be commanded by any other but those worthy gentlemen in whose wisdom, courage, and fidelity they dare boldly confide.” And he added that “a captain so well beloved of the people can suffer no injury without mutinous repining, from whence doth spring the greatest danger of an army.”

It was a delicate situation, but Warwick was quite capable of dealing with it. He meant to choose his own officers, and he meant to have no mutiny. His answer, which I give, admirably combines tact and firmness.

“Captain,” he said, “your words are so farre from displeasing mee, that I love your free Speech, it being comely in a Souldier to deliver his thoughts without disguise of words, and to utter Truth in a plaine and cleare manner. If your Essex Souldiers be offended at the election of other Captaines, let them consider that the present occasion doth require men bred in warre, and experienced in those affaires ; neither can the other Captaines grudge, that the Common-wealth should receive benefit by their service, since if this warre may thrive in the prosecution thereof, it matters not who have beene principall actors therein. Their love unto their Countrey deserves highly to bee commended, and their cheerfull undertaking to assist this action, doth magnifie their brave resolutions. But give mee leave to say, that

those other Captaines nurst at the breast of Warre, are growne exceeding quick-sighted in military discipline, and being long trained up in the Schoole of Warre, deserve to bee ranked in the chieftest File of Honour. In Holland they have hazzarded their lives, and spent some blood to gain a perfect knowledge in all warlike Discipline; yet I preferre them not as men of greater ability, much lesse loyalty then the other Captaines; but antiquity of service ought to have some preheminance. Perswade therefore the Souldiers to be well affected to those Captaines: for you and all men ought to preferre the good of the Common-wealth before private respect, or any particular places in the Warre, since all our actions should move to one end, which is the defence of our King and our Countrey."

Warwick got his way and had no further trouble. It is as much to his credit as a victory on the field of battle. As a further proof of the Earl's keen appreciation of the value of military discipline, I may cite his pamphlet, published in the same year, entitled "Lawes and Ordinances of Warre, Established for the better Conduct of the Army." It is a species of "Soldier's Pocket-Book," and is included in the remarkable collection of Civil War Tracts in the British Museum. Its interest is so great that I give a facsimile of the title-page and a summary of its contents:—

Lawes and Ordinances

OF

WARRE,

Established for the better Conduct

OF THE

ARMY

BY

His Excellency

The Earle of

WARWICK

Lord Generall of the Forces raised by
the Authority of the Parliament, for the De-
fence of the Citie of London and the
Counties adjacent.

London : Printed for *Laurence Chapman*. 1642.

ROBERT
Earle of
WARWICKE
Baron of Leez, &c.
Captaine Generall of the Army
raised by the Authority of
Parliament, for the defence
OF THE
CITTIE OF LONDON
and the
COUNTIES ADJACENT.

To all the Officers of the Army, Colonells, Lieutenant - Colonells, Serjeant - Majors, Captaines, other Officers and Souldiers of Horse and Foot, and all others whom these Lawes and Ordinances shall concerne.

Which Lawes and Ordinances hereby published, all the said Persons respectively and severally, are Required and Commanded to observe and keepe, on the Paines and Penalties therein expressed.

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The “Lawes and Ordinances of Warre” proceeds to treat “Of Duties to God—Of Duties in Generall—Of Duties toward Superiours and Commanders—Of Duties Morall—Of a Souldiers Duty touching his Armes—Of Duty in Marching—Of Duties in the Campe and Garrison—Of Duties in Action—Of the Duties of Commanders and Officers in Particular—Of the Dutie of the Muster Masters—Of Victuallers—Of Administration of Justice”; and ends:—

“By vertue of the Authoritie given me by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, I command these Ordinances to be observ'd and obey'd in the Armie; and by these presents give Order that the same shall be forthwith printed and published.

“Given under my hand this 19. of November 1642.

“WARWICK.”



SIGNATURE OF ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK.

CHAPTER V

Warwick as Admiral—The Importance of Sea Power during the Civil War—The Interception of Supplies and Reinforcements for the King—Warwick's Concern for the Victualling and Paying of his Sailors—His Temporary Retirement—His Return to deal with a Mutiny—The Success of his Later Naval Operations.

FROM Warwick's achievements as a general we turn back to his achievements as an admiral.

It was not long before the importance of the Parliament's possession of the command of the sea was manifested. The ordinary view is that the fate of England and of the House of Stuart was settled in a series of land battles, beginning with Edgehill and ending with Naseby. This, no doubt, is partly true; but it, as certainly, is not the whole of the truth. We read very little in our histories of the attempts to send Charles supplies and assistance from abroad. That is, of course, because the attempts did not succeed. If they had succeeded, we should have heard a good deal of them; and we note here, with satisfaction, that the Earl of Warwick kept the schemes out of the books by nipping them in the bud.

There are plenty of allusions to them, however, in those tracts of the times already referred to. Those tracts, be it observed, are not merely controversial pamphlets, but the newspapers of the period,

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printed for the purpose of circulating the latest intelligence from the seat of war. Sometimes they mingle comment with news, as is done in our modern leading articles. As often they give the news without any comment at all. Here, for instance, is a despatch headed "A True Relation of my Lord of Warwick's Encounter," showing how a consignment of supplies for the Royalist army from France was intercepted:—

"Certain joyfull Newes is brought of my Lord of Warwicks Encounter with 2 French ships, who after a long chase he took prisoners, and received from them great store of Ammunition, sufficient for 300 men, besides the store of field pieces, all of which it was thought was intended for His Majesties assistance against the Honourable Houses of Parliament. Likewise there were great store of Muskets and Pistols in the said ships, being hid in false Cabines, which by a diligent search were all found out and sent by his Lordships command to Northampton to my Lord of Essex."

Another despatch of approximately the same date relates "The Earl of Warwicks great Victory over 50 Ships of the King of Denmarke in the Narrow-Seas":—

"The King of Denmarke understanding by the manifold information of many, that his Brother the King of Great Britaine was disunited from the Parliament, and his indignation being highly incensed, that he was resolved to make Warre against his great Councill, and Supreme Court, began to assemble his



After the picture by Hollar.

ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK,

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Subjects, desiring their assistance to ayd his Brother in the intended Warre. And after great debate, and consultation thereabout, hee concluded immediatly to prepare certain ships which the King of Denmarke had in preparation, were 100, and 50 of them already fitted on Sea, conducting with them in the said ships many Horses and Hay, as the information thereof was reported to the House of Commons by a Merchant, that was lately come from Norway. Whereupon the House of Commons without any further procrastination or detraction of any longer time Ordered incontinently, that information should be sent with all expedition to the Earle of Warwicke, Lord Generall for the Sea, desiring him to be very vigilant and carefull at Sea, lest any suddaine and unexpected invasion might rush in upon the Kingdome.

“Wherefore as soon as the Earle of Warwicke had received this particular intention from the Parliament, he presently set all the ships in readinesse, and began to be very cautious, setting streight watch every night, least unawares the Denmarks by some policy or Stratagem might invade the Land by night.

“The ninth day of this present moneth the Denmarkes appeared in the Narrow Seas superbiously, comming to England with fifty ships loaden with great store of Ammunition, Horse and Hay, but as soone as the Earle of Warwicke perceived his sinister intents, he went against him with one and twenty ships, and most valiantly with an undanted courage let off thirty pieces of Ordnance

against the Denmarke, following very courageously, insomuch that he made them almost recant, and turne Sayle. The Denmarks on the other side behaved themselves bravely at the first encounter, and gave the English above threescore and ten shootes, which had beene sufficient to have sunke some of our ships, but that they were placed so wisely, and craftily, that wee had a great advantage of them, because we had the Wind withall on our side. And the Lord Generall had regulated the ships an equall way, that at the second discharge they were compelled to turn Sayle and fly, but two of these Ships were taken; wherein there was found great store of Ammunition, and the rest escaped by flight."

One could quote more; but these examples suffice to show the importance of Warwick's achivements in this direction. Nor were these the only services that his fleet rendered. In 1642 it assisted in the defence of Hull and in the capture of Portsmouth. In 1644 it relieved Lyme Regis, though it failed to relieve Exeter, saved Weymouth, and despatched help that was badly needed to Pembrokeshire. And it would probably have done even more than it did but for the dearth of money and supplies.

It would be possible, if it were desirable, to fill many pages with extracts from letters and other documents demonstrating Warwick's creditable anxiety that the men under his command should be regularly paid, and properly as well as regularly fed. Let me be merciful, however, and pursue this policy only in strict moderation.

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On November 15th, 1643, for an example, we find him writing from the Downs to William Lenthall, complaining "that the ship keepers at Chatham have been without victuals for the last ten days, concerning Captain Hodges and his prizes, and forwarding the complaints of merchants of Dover and elsewhere that all their foreign letters have been opened at Rochester, and through the carelessness of the clerks many letters and bills of exchange have been 'imbezilled'"; while on November 27th of the same year Sir Henry Mildmay reports to the same Mr. Lenthall the Earl's apprehensions for the safety of Dover Castle and other strongholds, and his fear "lest some of them be eaten out by the sea this winter and the rest possessed by an enemy that will come and pay the soldiers."

Another letter from the Earl to Mr. Lenthall, dated two years later, shows how little attention was paid to his representations:—

"1644, October 29. Holborn.—After my several representations of the necessitous condition of the Navy during my absence at sea I hoped the House would have found time and means for the consideration and supply thereof. But on my return I found it in the same state, and therefore thought it my duty again to remind you of my representations in my letters of July 1st, and August 12th, concerning the defective stores and materials. Without a speedy supply the Winter Guard cannot be completed nor a fleet set forth next summer. I have caused an estimate—not including the gunner's stores—of all the stores and materials

necessary for setting forth the Winter Guard and the next summer fleet to be made, amounting to £15,078. Great inconvenience arises from want of timely provision of money, which causes not only ships after coming in to lie at the State's charge in the river amounting lately to above £100 a day, but also a long interval between the coming in of the summer fleet and the going out of the Winter Guard, and hence the guard of the sea is neglected, the enemy's ports opened, trade endangered, and the convoy of some of our own ships transferred to the Hollanders. Besides sellers are discouraged from giving provisions of proper quality by the non-performance of their contracts. The debts of the Navy, so far from being discharged, daily increase, and by the clamour attending them the officers of the Navy are disabled from doing their duty without distraction, which is the more considerable, because the Customs, whereby the expenses of the Navy are to be principally supported, have been anticipated, and hence great sums have to be borrowed, and a great charge for interest incurred. By not passing an Ordinance for the Commissioners of the Navy to act under me, they are discouraged from further acting and resolved to desist from the same as by the inclosed will appear, so that the business of the Navy will receive obstruction unless some sudden course be taken. I desire you to represent all this to the House."

How this neglect on the part of the House impaired his efficiency and impeded his usefulness is shown by

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one of Warwick's despatches of the same year, in which he reports his failure to intercept Queen Henrietta Maria on her way from Falmouth to France.

"By this narration," he writes, "it will appear that on Sunday last the Queen with the assistance of ten ships and vessels made her escape. I am sorry I cannot give another account of this service. But if the numbers of ships in these parts be considered, and the manner of dispersing them, I suppose it will be easily admitted that I have done my duty, having here at that time only eight ships, whereof the 'Reformation,' 'Paramour,' and 'Warwick,' being three of our best sailers, were sent to Falmouth; the 'Dreadnaught' and 'Mary Rose,' being but heavy ships, were employed to look after Dartmouth, and not without some fruit, they seizing on two French vessels thence bound on Saturday and Sunday last."

The despatch also recounts the capture of another prize; and I continue to quote, as the story is a further illustration of the importance of the neglected navy to the Commonwealth.

"My Vice Admiral," the despatch proceeds, "brought in this day the 'Golden Sun,' belonging to the King of Denmark, lately returned from the East Indies, laden with pepper and sugar. In a friendly way I sent her into Portsmouth under convoy of the 'Dreadnaught,' to which her commander willingly assented, she being very leaky and foul. I took this resolution in pursuance of your former directions, so that if you shall think fit to repair the

losses and miseries received from the King of Denmark by our English merchants, this opportunity might not be omitted."

Finally, we note that Warwick's representations were not only general but particular. In a despatch printed in the Calendar of State Papers he goes into details as to his requirements, not only pressing for specific reinforcements, but asking for "hemp canvas and masts," demanding that "about £3000 be paid into the Treasurer's office for petty emptions," that "the ordinances be perfected for pressing mariners," and that "bread, beer, butter and cheese be speedily contracted for." From all which it seems clear not only that Warwick was a competent naval officer, but also that not the least of his services consisted in putting pressure on the Exchequer and keeping the Parliament up to the mark.

Warwick, however, was something more than a useful man. It was presently to be proved that, for his own particular work, he was the one indispensable man. In April, 1645, his connection with the navy temporarily ceased in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance, whereby every member of both Houses of Parliament was excluded from command in either fleet or army. He resigned his commission, expressing his willingness to serve "the great cause of religion and liberty" in any capacity in which he could be useful. He had an opportunity of serving that cause on land in consequence of the alarm caused by the King's capture of Huntingdon.

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This is another of the episodes of the Civil War which the smaller histories omit to mention. It was, in fact, an unexpected and alarming recrudescence of Royalism, occurring some two months after the crushing defeat of Naseby, and a good deal of trouble might have grown out of the enterprise if it had not been nipped in the bud. Sir Richard Everard, Sheriff of the County of Essex, however, and others wrote to the Committee of both Kingdoms expressing the desire that "our Lord Lieutenant the Earl of Warwick be appointed to the command" of the forces of the Eastern Association. The appointment was made, and was justified by the result. A characteristic letter to Mr. Lenthall, with the usual reference to the important matter of the payment of the troops, gives all essential details about this brief campaign;—

"1645, Sept^r 5. Leeze.—Upon this alarm of the enemies coming to Huntingdon I drew up all the forces of Essex, being 6,000 foot and 900 horse and 500 dragoons, towards Cambridge, as also 4,000 foot and 500 horse come out of Suffolk for the guard of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. And upon the retreat of the enemy I dismissed them according to the order of the Committee of both Kingdoms, and sent 800 good horse of the Association and the 400 horse of Major Gibb's Regiment, as I was commanded by the House of Commons, to keep in the Newarkers from infesting the Association during the absence of Colonel Rossiter and his troops. I have caused the Counties to send a fortnight's pay with them, lest for want of

pay they should take occasion to disband. The 400 under Major Gibb there is a course taken by ordinance to pay them, but for the 800 horse of the Association under Major Haynes they rely upon the promise of the House of Commons for their pay. I pray, Sir, move the House to take present order in it, £3,000 per month will pay them.”¹

For his services on this occasion Warwick was formally thanked by a vote of the House of Commons. His public appearances during the next few years were not very prominent. From 1645 to 1647 he was Governor of the Channel Islands, which were in danger of being attacked by the Royalists. A letter addressed to him, on June 14th, 1646, by his Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Robert Russell, sets forth that “the necessities of the soldiers in Sark are very urgent, and they very much in arrear,—supply of powder, match and demi-cannon and demi-culverin shot is desired with as little delay as possible.” Colonial affairs also occupied him during this period. He was

¹ This question of the pay of the troops continued to preoccupy him for some time, as we see from the following letter, included among the Duke of Portland's MSS., addressed by the Earl of Warwick and others to the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Eastern Association :—

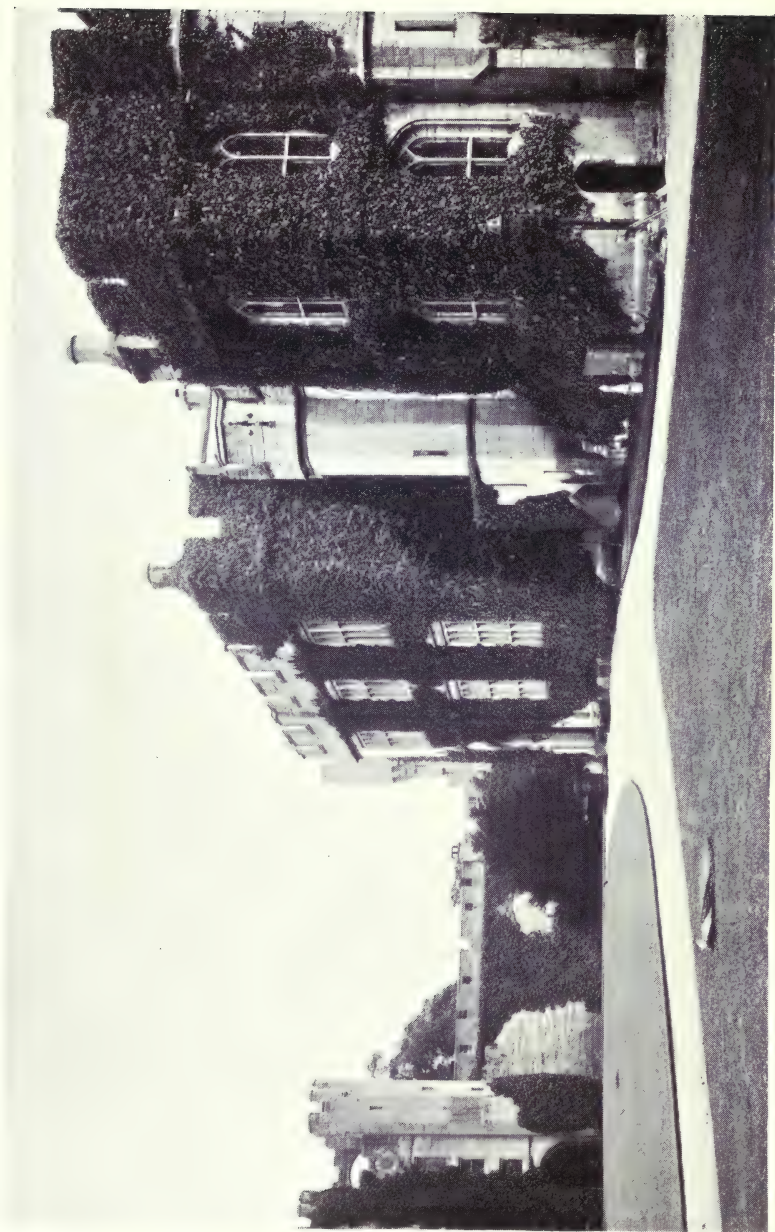
“1645, October 23. Chelmsford.—Concerning the pay of the three regiments of horse sent to Newark in July, August, and September, which is due the end of the month or early the next month, desiring that the counties not of the Association who are charged with a portion of the pay and also those counties of the Association that are slow to pay should be quickened, and that arrangements should be made for the future pay of these regiments, and also that when the Parliament accepts a composition for a sequestration a portion of the composition should be paid to the county which had the benefit of the sequestration.”

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at the head of a commission of six lords and twelve commoners entrusted with the government of the Colonies, and bore the title of "Lord High Admiral and Governor in Chief of all the islands and other plantations subject to the English Crown." There is evidence that he favoured religious toleration and the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Freedom of worship was decreed by him in the Bermudas on November 4th, 1645; and a settlement in the foundation of which he interested himself at Shawomet still bears the name of Warwick.

The navy, however, still had need of him. The year 1648 was a very critical year for the Parliament, being the year of what is known as "the second civil war." Royalist insurrections—to some of which we shall have to refer again later on—blazed up in various parts of the country. Among other untoward incidents the greater part of the Parliamentary fleet in the Downs revolted to the King; and it was naturally felt that Warwick was the one man capable of dealing with the mutiny and bringing the sailors back to their allegiance. Armed with the commission of Lord High Admiral, he hastened to the Downs to see what he could do.

Unfortunately he was too late to do much. The nine ships lost to the Parliament could not be recovered. But he set himself to organise a fresh fleet, and went on to Portsmouth, where he had a fresh mutiny to deal with. The trouble there was largely a question of pay; and Warwick reports progress in an



From a photograph by Charles Gerd.

THE COURTYARD OF WARWICK CASTLE.

Warwick Castle

interesting despatch to the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Navy and Customs:—

“1648, July 22. Aboard the *St. George* in Sea Road.—I have received notice of some distempers amongst the seamen at Portsmouth, particularly of those in the *Guarland* and the *John*. Uppon the first intimation whereof—being on Tuesday last—I writt to the rere-admirall to discharge by ticketts such of the said two ships’ companyes as were ill affected, and the rest—which seeme very fewe—to place aboard the other ships. Nowe I heare—that being offred—they are resolved not to stir out of their ships, till they receive their pay. I have therefore, uppon consultation this day had with a councell of warr, resolved it to bee most convenient that they bee both paid off and discharged at Portsmouth, and that such of them as the captaines and officers shall approve of as well affected, bee invited to enter themselves aboard some of the other ships. I doe therefore recomend it to your Lordships, that a speedy provision of money may bee made for their pay accordingly, their continuing under an expectation of it—considering their resolution not to oppose the revolted ships—tending meerly to contract further charge, though after the receiveing it, I feare there wilbee noe absolute security against their actings to the parlyamentes prejudice nor against the evill influences that their example may have uppon the other ships. I have signified to the Comissioners of the Navy my recommending of this to your Lordships, that they may attend and put in

• The House of Rich

execucion what you shall thereuppon direct. Wee have alsoe this day resolved—as an expedient to the quicker manning of the fleete—to sayle with the *St. George* as high as Tilbury Hope, and to place the *Adventure* and *Nicodemus* neere my selfe, the *Unicorne* in the Medway betwixt the Hope and Gravesend, the *Fellowshipp* as high as Greenhithe, the *Hector* at Northfleete, and the *Greyhound* at Purfleete, for avoiding of some inconveniences which may otherwise present themselves ; the ships, one with another, being not halfe mannd, the *Adventure* and *Nicodemus* excepted.”

Another letter, which I take from the Tanner Papers, shows how sadly discipline had been sapped during the time of his retirement, and what strong measures were required for its restoration :—

“To the Committee of the Lords. Aboard the *St. George*, 1 Aug. 1648.—I have discovered one or two ill affected p'fons amongst the Company of the *St. George* ; the representing of whose temper, and Carriage, I refer to M^r Strickland and M^r Bence, or one of them. The spreading and acting of dangerous principles, amongst the Marriners, will not be easily prevented, Unles there bee some knowne rules established for their regulation ; and punishm^{ts} authorized proportionable to their demeretts, that shall infringe them. I doe therefore recomend it to yo^r Lo^{ships} to move the howses, that an Ordinance for Martiall Lawe at Sea may be speedily passed.”

By the end of August, however, the new Lord

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High Admiral had restored order and was ready to act. He went to look for Prince Charles, who was with the revolted ships at the mouth of the Medway. A storm prevented the battle; and Prince Charles sailed back to Holland without fighting, as is recorded in another despatch,¹ very pious in tone, but only partially decipherable, also included among the Tanner Papers. Warwick followed him across the water, blockaded him at Helvoetsluys, and got back four of his ships. It was a very brilliant bit of work; and, like many other of Warwick's performances, probably had more effect upon the course of history than is generally admitted by the historians, a good many of whom have neglected even to mention it.

¹ "To Edw. Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers.

"It pleased God, notwithstanding all the counterworkings of the Kingdoms Enimies and the great discouragm^{ts} that occurred in this expedition, to enable us after some time, to get the ships (late in the River Thames) conveniently manned. This power and goodness to the Nation was further manifested, in giving to the Companie of those, several ships, spirits unanimously to ingage their Resolution . . . against those common Enimies of the Kingdome at Sea, that hath so . . . wickedly departed from their Trust and duty, whereof we had a most glorious and seasonable experiment, at that time, when the Enim . . . drew neare us with a fleet, above the proportion of that strenght wee then had. To the defeating and disappointment of con . . . of some, who foolishly boasted of the greatest share and interest in . . . affection. That mercie, the same power was pleased to second, causing those Enimies to turne their backe, even when his arr . . . were but making ready upon the string, against the face of them. . . . Yet God, rested not there. But the next day after the Enimies retirem^t he was pleased to bring into a happie conjuncon wth us the Portsmouth ships; whose companie had likewise testified the same spirit of courage, and unanimity for the Parliaments service.

"5 Sep. 1648."

CHAPTER VI

Friction between Warwick and the Parliament—His Friendship with Cromwell—His Death—His Funeral Sermon—An Estimate of his Character and his Services to the State.

IT seems strange that, after all Warwick's services to the Commonwealth—services the true value of which can, perhaps, be better understood by his posterity than by his contemporaries—there should have been friction between him and the Parliament. So it was, however; and he was actually accused of treachery at the time when he was engaged in sweeping the last remnants of the Royalist fleet off the sea. He was maligned in a pamphlet entitled "A Declaration of the Earl of Warwick, showing a Resolution to join with the Prince if the Treaty take not effect." His dignified reply, written on board the *St. George*, at Helvoetsluys, on November 11th, 1648, is printed as an appendix. Clarendon does, indeed, suggest that he was privy to certain of his brother's schemes, of which it will be necessary to speak in a later chapter; but his whole conduct affords eloquent proof of his loyalty to his side.

His open breach with the Parliament—so far as there ever was any open breach—was due to his reluctance to consent to the abolition of the monarchy

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and the execution of the King. His sympathy was with the Presbyterians rather than the Independents. The Independents secured the repeal of the Act making him Lord High Admiral, with the result that the naval victories of the Commonwealth were won, not by him, but by Blake; and he failed in his attempt to procure the pardon of his brother, the Earl of Holland. For a time, therefore, he withdrew, more or less in dudgeon, from public life.

On Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate, however, Warwick gave him support and encouragement, bearing the Sword of State before him at his second inauguration on June 26th, 1657, and helping to invest him in his robe of purple velvet. Cromwell, it is well known, did not estimate men solely with reference to their religious opinions; and though he doubtless found Robert Rich somewhat lacking in congenial austerity, he understood his merits, and liked him. A further link was forged between them by the marriage of Warwick's grandson Robert to the Lord Protector's daughter Frances.

It was not a match that the Lord Protector quite approved of; but the grounds of his objection were reasonable. Robert Rich, junior, was not a very commendable young man, having, as it would appear, inherited his grandfather's joviality without inheriting his grandfather's solid qualities. This, and not Cromwell's rumoured desire to marry his daughter to the exiled King Charles II., seems, from the family correspondence of the Cromwells, to have been the cause

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of his unfriendly attitude. "If I may say the truth," wrote Mary Cromwell to her brother Henry Cromwell,



From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery. Photo by Walker & Cockerell.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"I think it was not so much estate as some private reasons that my father discovered to none but my sister Frances and his own family, which was a dislike to

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the young person, which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and such like things; which office was done by some that had a mind to break off the match."

Still, the match was not broken off, but was celebrated in the chapel of Whitehall Palace, on November 11th, 1657, with pomp and gaiety. The Lord Protector himself is said to have unbent thereat to the point of throwing sack-posset and wet sweetmeats over the ladies' dresses, and of pulling off the bridegroom's wig and sitting on it; and Robert Rich, junior, seized the festive occasion for turning over a new leaf, and consulting his college tutor, Mr. Gauden, as to a course of reading and "the best method of living to the improvement of his mind and time both for God and man."

The young man, however, had little time to carry out his good resolutions. He had always had a premonition that he would die young, and he died about three months after his wedding. Cromwell wrote Warwick a letter of condolence. Warwick's reply is a eulogy of Cromwell's conduct of public affairs.

"Others' goodness," he wrote, "is their own; yours is a whole country's, yea three kingdoms', for which you justly possess interest and renown: with wise and good men virtue is a thousand escutcheons. Go on, my lord, go on happily, to love religion, to exemplify it. May your lordship long continue an instrument of use, a pattern of virtue, and a precedent of glory."

Nor did the Earl long survive his grandson. He

died, at the ripe age of seventy-one, on April 19th, 1658, and, according to Clarendon, "left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion."

His pious daughter-in-law, Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick; records that his loss was to her "the most smarting and most sensible trouble I had ever felt." His funeral sermon, besides the usual eulogies, gives some account of his habits of life. Therefore I quote from it:—

"Let me tell you," said the preacher, "that we have lost this day one of the best natur'd Noble-men in England, and one who had not only a good nature, but (as I verily beleeeve) gracious principles, and religious inclinations, and dispositions.

"In his conscientious observation of the Lord's day, and in causing the Sermons preached to be repeated in his presence to the whole family. In his frequent attendance when he was at London upon weekly Lectures, and by his example and encouragement, drawing many persons of quality to our congregations.

"He was bountiful and Prince-like in his hospitality and house-keeping.

"He was very merciful and charitable to the poor members of Jesus Christ. I have often and often been his Almoner to distribute considerable summes of money to necessitous and pious Christians.

"He was a liberal and most loving master to his

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house-hold servants, and hath given competent pensions to all his old servants during life.

“In a word: He was one who did not make use of religion for his owne private gaine and interest; he had no politick designe in professing godlinesse: his whole aime both by sea and land, both in Parliament and in private, was, to be serviceable to Church and State, and in this particular he was a true Nathaneel in whom there was no guile: he was a countenancer of religion in the worst times: he appeared for God and for his cause and servants, when it was both dangerous and disgraceful in the eyes of the leading men of the Nation; he received Mr. Burroughs (that eminent Minister of Christ) into his family, and protected him for a long while, till at last he was forced to fly out of the land. He was a very special friend unto that man of God of famous memory Dr. Sibbs. To summe up all in a few lines, as it is said of Socrates (as I remember) that he was so good a man that all that knew him loved him; and if any man did not love him, it was because they did not know him. So it may be said of the Earle of Warwick: All who knew him loved him, and if any man did not love him, it was because he did not know him.”

And so we take our leave of him. He was a great man and a good man, who developed virtues as the time required them, and was able to employ them to the public good. He was a Puritan without being a fanatic, and left his mark upon the age without being

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in the fullest sense representative of it. Of his force of character we have found many proofs. We may regard him, perhaps, as the link between the Round-heads and the buccaneers.

He was three times married: to Frances, daughter of Sir William Hatton; to Susan, daughter of Sir Rowe Rowe, Lord Mayor of London, and widow of William Halliday, alderman of London; and to Eleanor, daughter of Sir Edward Wortley and the Dowager-Countess of Sussex. His sons were Robert Rich, a scandalous man, who died soon after inheriting the title, and left no male heir; Charles Rich, who became Earl of Warwick, and whose fortunes must be followed separately; Hatton Rich, and Henry Rich, who died without issue in 1670. Of his daughters, Lucy Rich married John, second Baron Robartes; Frances Rich married Nicholas Lake, second Earl of Scarsdale; and Anne Rich became the second wife of Edward Montagu.

CHAPTER VII

Henry Rich, Earl of Holland—His Personal Beauty and his Success at Court—His Mission to France to negotiate the Marriage of Prince Charles—His Love Affair with Madame de Chevreuse—His Public Appointments—He takes the Popular Side against Strafford.

OUR attention is next attracted by the chequered career of the Earl of Warwick's brother, Henry Rich, Baron Kensington and Earl of Holland, to which there have already been some anticipatory references. It was a dazzling career, though it ended tragically. There were times when the Earl of Holland, being skilled in the arts of the courtier, and having won the conspicuous favour of the King, seemed destined to climb higher up the ladder of ambition than his elder brother. But, though he was better looking than his brother, he was inferior to him in other respects. He lacked balance and fixed principles; and he lived in an age in which these qualities were badly needed by all men of exalted station. We shall see how, through the want of them, he came to grief, and also that his character illustrated, far better than his brother's, the truths of the doctrine of heredity. He was pretty much the sort of man that one would expect him to be, knowing that his father was worthy but weak, and his mother brilliant but worthless.

Henry Rich was born in 1590, and baptised at

the Church of Stratford-atte-Bow. One trusts that it was not there that he learnt the French that subsequently qualified him to undertake a diplomatic



From a miniature by Samuel Cooper.

HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND.

mission to Paris, and make love to a French lady during the intervals of his diplomatic business. His college was Emmanuel, Cambridge, and he did a

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little fighting, as a gentleman volunteer, at the siege of Juliers; but his talents were those of a courtier, and advantage came to him quickly. He was knighted in 1610, and elected Member of Parliament for Leicester in that year, and again in 1614; and James I. bestowed on him many gifts of money and other favours. He was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles, Prince of Wales, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. It was, moreover, through the King's influence that he married Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington; and soon after his marriage he got his titles of Baron Kensington and Earl of Holland. Cope Castle came to him as part of his wife's dowry. He changed the name of it to Holland House. It is the Holland House which still stands to remind us of the gorgeous life of the nobility in the days that are no more.

What manner of man he was, at this period, we may gather from the contrast drawn between him and his brother by the contemporary historian Arthur Wilson.

"Warwick," says this candid writer, "though he had all those excellent indowments of Body and fortune, that gives splendor to a glorious Court, yet he used it but as his Recreation; for his Spirit aimed at more publick adventures, planting Colonies in the Western World, rather than himself in the King's favour: his Brother Sir Henry Rich (about this time made Baron of Kensington) and he had been in their youths two emulous Corrivals in the public affections,

the one's brownness being accounted a lovely sweetness transcending most men, the other's features and pleasant aspect equalled the most beautiful Women ; the younger having all the Dimensions of a Courtier, laid all the Stock of his Fortune upon that Soil, which after some years Patience came up with increase ; but the Elder could not so stoop to observances, and thereby became his own Supporter."

As to his position, and his methods of increasing his pecuniary resources, we may gather something from the collection of letters entitled "The Court and Times of Charles I."

"My Lord of Holland, it was said," we read in one letter, "should have the monopoly of ribands for baronets, and knights bachelors, but no man shall be constrained to wear them ; and that they shall, as the nobility, be free from arrest. But how true, time will tell.

"The Earl of Holland was likewise about to get a grant to have the exchange of all outlandish gold."

"My Lord of Holland hath," says another letter, "by the industry of one Mr. Clifford, found out a rich booty, which will be worth £40,000, that lay concealed in the hands of Burlamachi, Calandrini, and other cunning merchants, being a thing called pirate-money, which was two in the hundred upon merchandise, collected first for setting forth of the Algiers fleet, and divers years after continued, and never accounted for till it was now brought in question."

Leaving these little details, we pass to Lord

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Holland's career as a public man. He first appeared in that character in 1624, when he was sent to Paris to pave the way for the marriage presently concluded between Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., and the Princess Henrietta Maria. His personal success was immense. Of this branch of the subject there is a good account in M. Victor Cousin's work on "Madame de Chevreuse and Madame de Hautefort."

"Lord Rich," says M. Cousin, "afterwards the celebrated Earl of Holland, had come to the French Court at the end of 1624, or the beginning of 1625, to seek for the Prince of Wales, who soon became Charles I., the hand of Madame, the beautiful Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII. During the course of this negotiation the Earl of Holland fell in love with Madame de Chevreuse. It was, I believe, her first love-affair. He was young and remarkably handsome; she was charmed with him, and he got her to work in the English interest. Holland, who was frivolous, a man of pleasure and intrigue, persuaded her to engage her royal friend in a similar affair of the heart. Anne of Austria was vain and a coquette. She liked to please men, and with the taste of her country for gallantry, and in the neglect with which Louis XIII. treated her, she did not refuse to receive attentions from men. But here the game was not without danger; and the handsome, the magnificent Buckingham caused serious trouble in the Queen's heart. It was not the fault of Madame de Chevreuse if she did not succumb altogether. Buckingham was enterprising;

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the guardian was very complaisant; and the Queen had a narrow escape."

It was as the reward for the service thus rendered to Buckingham rather than for any service to his country that Henry Rich got his title of Earl of Holland. In the negotiations he proved himself a bungler, allowing himself to be talked over to the concession of improper demands. There is a growling letter, apparently referring to the subject, among the Warwick Papers; but it is very torn, very difficult to decipher, and without either cover or date. What I can transcribe of it I print in a foot-note.¹ All the credit acquired by the embassy was earned by his associate, Carlisle.

Presently came the ridiculous expedition to the Isle of Rhé, intended really for the gratification of the ambition of the Duke of Buckingham, but ostensibly

¹ "Noble Cosen, my promise unto you preseth mee more to wright when any conceyte I have to advertise you ^{cd} more then. What you may knowe before you receyve my letters. The K. beareth the businesse withoute any apprehension of error or danger: Amen. And the Counsell like wise will carrie it wth care love and dutie, whose thoghts and actions you shall knowe better then I can: For the P. servants they are as full of grieve and amazment as they dare; beinge layd open to so many . . . are set downe in List to followe speedily and those who are appoynted to stay behinde labor with grieve, love and desier of the voyage to followe theyr P. for my lord admirall I heere no order for any of his to followe which makes mee cōie . . . that he will returne before the bodie of y^e Fleete goe for Spayne, for I can assure you he is expected as soone as he hath settled the P. there. Carlisle shall stay till the P. return. I doe feare y^t the Primum . . . e of this designe was the P. himselfe: yealded unto by the K. case of an indulgente grace to geve satisfaction unto the desier of so lovinge and obedient a sōne as he hath ever bene an so suffered hymselfe to be overcom by oportunity. Who helped the P. to turne

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for the support of Protestants in peril at La Rochelle. Parliament had refused to vote supplies, and the money was raised by a forced loan—an exaction which a great many people, including the Earl of Warwick, refused to pay. The result was that there was not money enough forthcoming, and that the business was mismanaged from beginning to end; and Buckingham, not being reinforced in time, had to withdraw with the loss of more than 3,000 out of 3,800 men. The failure was currently attributed to the Earl of Holland. He had been appointed to the command of the fleet and army designed to support Buckingham, and he started so late that he met Buckingham's ruined force returning. The better opinion is that the delay was hardly his fault, but was due to the general disorganisation of the Government rather than to his slackness. One would have felt more certain of that,

this wheele aboute I would I could nether imagen nor wright, what was the cause and [?] effect of my lord Chichesters Journey you shall knowe latter . . . drawinge hymself . . . you: to the which nec . . . nott very willinge on a . . . of the departure of the P. officers and servants toward Spayne as to Andiver Leppington Wa . . . and Compton, with such necessaries as must be forthwith provided, for which two shippes must be prepared n^r Cale wth certayrest . . . advertiser S^r Robert Carr George Corte and som other. The P. bedchamber preferred by his highness direction past over land and I myselfe will cross the country to [?] bulone presently, where I will doe the K. the best service I can, and obey what directions shall come from you lipps and yr societie and for yr owne perticuler will be carefull to doe what belongeth unto

“yr lopps lovinge

“kinsman and frēd

“W

“Yf I have written so harshly that yr Lpp can scarce read my letters I knowne it y^s in yr power to requite my cortesy which I pray doe.”

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however, if the command had been given to an abler man. When Warwick was admiral, as we have seen, he triumphed over greater difficulties than ever baffled Holland.



THE OLD MILL, WARWICK CASTLE.

Let that pass, however. What we have now to note is that Holland, though afterwards a Parliament man, was, in these days, a King's man, acquiescing in all the abuses of the misgovernment of Charles I. He did not, like his brother, resist the forced loan; and, in 1631, as Chief Justice in Eyre south of Trent, he was associated with the revival

of the obsolete Forest Laws, whereby whole districts of land were claimed as part of the Royal forests on the strength of old and long-forgotten records, and noblemen and gentlemen were required to pay fines for the privilege of retaining their own estates. Conse-

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quently he enjoyed many marks of the Royal favour, being made Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Horse, Constable of Windsor, Groom of the Stole, and First Lord of the Bedchamber. It was not, indeed, till towards the end of the long Parliamentary struggle that he began to show sympathy for the constitutional cause ; and even then he seems to have been more actuated by dislike to Strafford, against whom he gave evidence at his trial, than by any other motive.

The Scotch wars at the end of the reign brought him somewhat to the front. The Scotch, it will be remembered, wanted freedom to worship in the Presbyterian fashion, and the withdrawal of the Books of Canons and of Common Prayer. "I will rather die," the King wrote to the Royal Commissioner, "than yield to these impertinent and damnable demands." So there was war—or, rather, there were two wars, known to history as the Bishops' Wars. In the first war—that of 1639—Holland served as General of the Horse, a post given to him instead of Essex through the favour of the Queen. The campaign was a failure, and he failed even more signally than other people. He marched to Kelso and hastily retreated thence, covering himself and his cause with ridicule. Once more there are those who allege that the failure was not his fault ; but the fact remains that in the second war—that of 1641—Conway was made General of the Horse instead of him.

In the movement against Strafford—"that grand

apostate to the Commonwealth," as Lord Digby called him, "who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the next"—Holland, as has been stated, took the popular side. It has also been suggested that personal dislike to Strafford was the probable explanation of his conduct. He was won back to Royal favour with the promise of the command of the army; and, as his principal task was to disband the army, he proved himself equal to his duties. But his allegiance was now sapped; when the King refused to grant him the nomination of a new baron, the quarrel came to a head. The King dismissed him, and he became definitely a Parliament man. Beyond question his proceedings were tortuous, and the end of their tortuosities was still a long way off.

The history of his performances in the Civil War, however, is entitled to a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

An Excursion into English History to illustrate the Career of Henry Rich—
The Proceedings of Henry Rich in the First Civil War—And in the
Second Civil War—His Abortive Rising on Behalf of the King—His
Arrest, Trial, and Execution.

THE chapter may begin with a little English history, necessary to the proper understanding of what happened to the Earl of Holland.

Our starting-point is the attempt to arrest the five members—Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, Holles, and Strode—on the charge of high treason in the House of Commons. "It was believed," says a witness of the scene, "that if the King had found them there, and called in his guards to have seized them, the members of the House would have endeavoured the defence of them, which might have proved a very unhappy and sad business." They could not be arrested, however, because they were not there; and Charles withdrew sullenly, followed by cries of "Privilege." Writs were then issued for their arrest; but the sheriffs disregarded the writs, and the trainbands of London and Southwark came and escorted the members back in triumph to Westminster.

Then, on January 10th, the King and the cavaliers left Whitehall, and made their preparations for the inevitable civil war; and Pym took measures to blockade

the Tower and secure the two great arsenals of Portsmouth and Hull. The Parliament appointed Lords Lieutenant of the Militia, and Charles levied forces by Royal Commission of Array. Matters came to a head when the King demanded access to the Hull arsenal, and Sir John Hotham refused to open the gates to



From the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S HELMET.

him. Then Falkland, Colepepper, and Hyde, with thirty-two peers and sixty members of the House of Commons, followed by the Lord Keeper with the Great Seal, joined the King at York; while the Parliament enrolled the militia, secured the fleet, and opened a subscription for a loan.

The next step of the Parliament was to make representations to the King. They demanded, in their

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last petition, the power of appointing and dismissing the Royal ministers, naming guardians for the Royal children, and, as Green puts it, "virtually controlling military, civil, and religious affairs." Whereto Charles returned the famous answer: "If I granted your demands, I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

This petition, humorously styled "The Parliament's Petition to the King for Peace," was presented by the Earl of Holland. His account of his reception is given in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, which I extract from the Parliamentary History. He writes from Beverley, in Yorkshire, where the King then was:—

"MY LORD; Our admittance to his maj. was very quick, for that very night we arrived here, after his supper, though he came home late from Lincoln, he commanded us to attend him; where we found him accompanied by many officers, but few lords; for most of them were absent, they say here, to put in execution the Commission of Array, in those shires whither the king's Commission had directed them.—After we had read your Petition, his majesty told us, It was a business of great importance, and required time to advise of his Answer; yet then he remarked, with some sharpness, on some parts of the Petition, which I shall give my lords an account of in person.—I believe we may be dispatched to-day, or, at furthest, to-morrow; for his maj. goes to Nottingham and

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Leicester, to call those counties together, and to assure them to him; as, he believes, he has already done those where his presence hath been. His forces appear not to be so great as they are; for it is said here, and I believe with some truth, that he may, when he pleases, call a very considerable number together, that are ready, upon the least command, to move towards him: but this is declined on two respects; the one, until he hath received a direct Answer concerning Hull; the other, to ease his charge for the present. There are several troops of horse that have been raised by noblemen and gentlemen, which are quartered in this county.—These generals are only proper to be delivered unto you at this present; when I attend you, which shall be with all the diligence I may, my lords shall have a very particular account of the knowledge and duty of Your, &c. HOLLAND.

“Beverley, July 18, 1642.”

Clarendon says that Holland was “transported from his natural temper and gentleness into passion and animosity against the King and his ministers” by his cold reception; but it is probable that his temper had already been severely tried by the peremptory order which he had received, some months before, from Lord Falkland, to return the key which was the ensign of his office as Groom of the Stole. However that may be, he was now definitely on the Parliamentary side.

The petition, presented in July, reports, as we have seen, that the King was going to Nottingham

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to raise the county. It was at Nottingham that, on August 23rd, "on the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day," the Royal Standard was first raised. Essex marched out to look for him. The King first fell back on Shrewsbury, gathering supporters as he went. Then he started to march on London, and Essex left Worcester to confront him. The two armies met on the field of Edgehill, near Banbury. Tactically, it was a drawn battle, but the strategical advantage lay with the King. Banbury surrendered to him, though Warwick held out; and Essex retreated, leaving Charles free to march on London.

On the receipt of the news the Earl of Holland exhorted the citizens of London to be strong and of a good courage. This speech, which is printed in the Parliamentary History, is as follows:—

"My lord mayor, and you gentlemen of the city; It is more by obedience than confidence, that I say anything to you at this time. That which I shall say to you, is to observe on the Relation that this noble lord hath made: in the first part of it what deliverance God hath sent you, that in a danger (and indeed such as, I am confident, all that were there believed the cause of religion, and liberty, and all lost) you saw what a present turn it had; such a one, as if it did not give us the victory, yet it gave us the advantage, that is certain; and truly a very great one, especially when it was taken from so unhappy a condition as we were likely to be in; wherein God hath showed us what a danger might have fallen

upon us : and certainly it is because every man should consider, in that danger, what he might have suffered, and what his cause might have suffered ; and by this to give you all warning, that as he hath now begun to deliver you only by his hand, and by his power, he will expect that you will express such a thankfulness to him for it, as now to make his cause your work ; and to do it with your hands boldly and with courage.—For by this Letter that you have heard read now, you see what is threatened against you ; the least that you must expect as to this great army of the king's is, that certainly, by the disposition of those that command it, and have great power in it, they intend you no less (and that is to be believed) than the destroying of the city and your persons, and the preying upon your fortunes. This is not all ; for you see if this doth not prevail, or be not powerful enough, an army must come from the West ; you see the preparation of another in the North ; from all parts of the kingdom the sword is drawn against you : and truly, having those ill intentions that they certainly have, it is the wisest course they can take ; for in your city is the strength of the kingdom indeed : it is not only the life but the soul of it : if they can destroy you here, the rest of the kingdom must all submit and yield ; and, in that yielding, must give over the maintenance of all that is most dear to them."

Notwithstanding these exhortations, however, the King came on. He established his headquarters at

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Oxford, and captured first Reading and then Brentford. Never, in the whole course of the war, was he nearer to triumph than at that hour. It was the hour when John Milton penned the famous sonnet, "written when the City was in danger," in which he expresses the opinion that poets should not be called upon to fight. Happily, however, the population of the City was not entirely composed of poets. The train-bands marched out to Turnham Green. The Earl of Holland was with Essex, and advised him not to fight; but the general temper was martial. "Come, my brave boys," said Skippon, who commanded the City forces, "let us pray heartily and fight heartily; remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives and children." So, after the two armies had faced each other throughout the whole of a November day, the King shrank from the enterprise and ordered a retreat. Possibly—one may almost say probably—if he had fought, he would have won; for the Parliament had not yet trained the New Model, or discovered a military genius. But he let "I dare not" wait upon "I would," like the cat in the adage, and so lost a chance that was never to return to him.

So ended the campaign of 1642. The conduct of the Earl of Holland in the campaign of 1643 was equivocal, and not to his credit. The year had begun well for the King. Though he had lost Reading, he had gained ground elsewhere. Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and the north of Hamp-

shire, as well as the city of Bristol, had fallen into his hands. So a peace party appeared in Parliament; and the Earl of Holland backed it, and tried to persuade Essex to back it with his army. If he had stopped there, one would have viewed his conduct as unwise rather than as improper. But he did not stop there. When the peace negotiations fell through, he rode off to join the King, and would no doubt definitely have become a Royalist if he had been taken back into favour and restored to his old office of Groom of the Stole. His refusal, however, to apologise for past acts of disloyalty barred the way. He attended the King to the siege of Gloucester, and charged in the King's regiment of horse at the first battle of Newbury, in which Lord Falkland was killed; he failed to get the post he desired, and, finding that there was nothing to be gained at Oxford, returned to London.

It is not easy to find language to characterise this behaviour. The irresponsible frivolity of it is almost beyond belief. One would dwell on it at greater length but for the fact that there is more frivolity of the same sort to follow.

The amazing thing is that Holland's double-dealing almost went unpunished. The only harm that came to him was the passing of an ordinance disabling him from sitting in the Upper House during the existing Parliament without the consent of both Houses, and the subsequent rejection of a proposal for an ordinance restoring him to his privileges. Moreover, he felt

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sufficiently sure of himself to apply to Parliament for pecuniary compensation for the losses which he had sustained during the war. Seeing that he had been First Lord of the Bedchamber at £1,600, had had two pensions of £2,000 a year each, as well as enjoying a share in the customs on coal worth £1,300 a year, and a legal office worth £2,000 a year, besides other smaller stipends, he felt that he could ask for a pension. The request was refused, and he once more went over to the King. The story quite justifies Clarendon's scathing summary of his character:—

“He was a very well-bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty when the king could have neither, and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world.”

Holland's active intervention on the King's side belongs to what is known as the “Second Civil War”; and, to make our narrative intelligible, we must once more summarise our English history.

The year 1643, as has already been stated, began favourably for the King. The turning-point was the unsuccessful siege of Gloucester by the Royalists. If they had taken Gloucester, terms admitting the King's main pretensions would almost certainly have been agreed to. But Essex relieved Gloucester, and the Parliament was disinclined to negotiate; and then, after the inconclusive battle of Newbury Down, fought with Essex on his way back from Gloucester, the Solemn League and Covenant was concluded: an

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agreement whereby the Scots, in return for certain religious considerations which need not detain us, promised to help the Parliament.

At the beginning of 1644, therefore, the situation was as follows: In the West Waller watched and more or less "contained" Prince Maurice, who had been gaining successes in Dorset and Devon. In the centre Essex watched the King at Oxford, prepared to follow him if he moved north. In the North a Scottish army under Leslie, Earl of Leven, came over the Border and besieged the Marquis of Newcastle in York, with the assistance of Manchester and Fairfax, who had previously had a difficulty in holding their own in the county. Rupert of the Rhine came to the rescue of the Royalists from Oxford; and Oliver Cromwell, who almost alone among the Parliamentary leaders had done well in 1643, came up on his part with his Ironsides from the eastern counties. Rupert arrived first, frightened his enemy away, and rode into York without having to strike a blow. But Cromwell was hard after him, and forced him to give battle at Marston Moor. "It had all the evidence," he wrote of that engagement, "of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords."

The victory had saved a very critical situation. Elsewhere the King had gained successes. He had beaten Waller at Cropredy Bridge, compelled the

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greater part of the army of Essex, who had ventured into Cornwall, to surrender, and commenced a second march on London which seemed to have every prospect of success ; while Montrose, in the Highlands, had called the clans to arms on his behalf, and won for him the battle of Tippermuir. But, owing to Marston Moor, these successes led to no result. The march to London was intercepted by Cromwell and Manchester at Newbury Down ; and this second battle of Newbury was a Parliamentary victory. It was because the Earl of Manchester, who was in supreme command, would not suffer him to pursue and turn the defeat into a rout, that Cromwell induced Parliament to pass that Self-denying Ordinance which, as we have already seen, compelled the retirement of the Earl of Warwick from the post of Lord High Admiral.

The King's only hope now lay in the Scotch diversion. But for that he would have negotiated. He did, in fact, begin to negotiate, but changed his mind when he got a letter from Montrose, who wrote : "Before the end of the summer I shall be in a position to come to your Majesty's aid with a brave army." Then he broke off the negotiations and marched to join Montrose. Cromwell, however, met and defeated him at Naseby on June 14th, 1645, and that battle, save for the siege of a castle or two, ended the war at a blow, while a few months later Montrose was effectually dealt with at Philiphaugh.

So ended the First Civil War. The Earl of Holland

had no part in it. We next hear of him, in September, 1645, as endeavouring to mediate between the Scottish commissioners and the English Presbyterian leaders, and suggesting through the French agent, Montreuil, that the King should take refuge in the Scottish army. It is a matter of history that the King did take refuge with the Scots, and that the Scots delivered him up to the Parliament in consideration of the payment of the sum of £400,000. The army took him away from the Parliament; and in the course of the subsequent negotiations, in which Holland took part, between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, the Second Civil War broke out.

It was not really a civil war so much as a spontaneous outburst of spasmodic risings in all parts of the country. One of the risings, as we shall see, interfered with the comfort of Mary Rich, Countess



THE PLASTER CAST OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S FACE,
TAKEN AFTER HIS DEATH.

Now preserved at Warwick Castle.

Warwick Castle ♡

of Warwick. Here we can only refer to the rising organised by the Earl of Holland. Perhaps I may be allowed to tell the story in the words of Professor Gardiner, who has so lucidly disentangled it from the perplexing pamphlets of the time.

“The Earl of Holland,” the Professor says, “accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and his younger brother, Lord Francis Villiers, left London in the evening of the 4th and appeared in arms at the head of a party of Royalist gentlemen in the streets of Kingston. After ransacking the stables of the Parliamentary gentry, they rode off with the horses they had thus acquired, leaving behind a declaration repudiating absolute monarchy, and declaring for peace and a Parliamentary constitution. Though their followers were for the present few in number, the highest estimate being five or six hundred, the course of events in Essex had shown how easy it was for a small force to swell into an army.

“Would the population of the southern counties give to Charles’s supporters in the field the credit for constitutional intentions which the House of Commons refused to himself? Unless this proved to be the case, Holland’s appeal to arms was doomed to speedy failure. Conscious of his own deficiencies as a soldier, he had obtained the assistance of Dulbier, the Dutchman to whom all causes were alike, and who had in his time drilled soldiers both for the elder Buckingham and for Cromwell. Dulbier was probably attracted to the present enterprise by the young Duke of Bucking-

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ham, whose father he had served. In any case, even if he had been a far better soldier than Holland, he could not accomplish much with 600 horse. His hopes were set on a horse-race, which was shortly to be held on Banstead Downs, as from the concourse attending he could hardly fail to find recruits for the King.

“In the meanwhile, horses and arms being still sorely needed, Holland dashed into Reigate on the 6th, hoping to secure the castle, which was at that time in the possession of a thorough-going Independent, Viscount Castlemaine, usually known in England as Lord Monson. The townsmen showed no inclination to rally to his side, and on hearing that some of Livesey’s troops were approaching, Holland withdrew to Dorking. On the morning of the 7th he attempted to return, but finding that Livesey had himself arrived with reinforcements, he rode off hurriedly towards Kingston.

“Livesey at once gave the word to follow. Holland’s rear was overtaken at Ewell; and a skirmish on the top of the hill was followed by a chase into Kingston. The Cavaliers, to do them justice, quitted themselves like men. As soon as Surbiton Common was passed the horsemen, drawing up in the lane, kept the pursuing cavalry in check, whilst their own foot made their way in safety into Kingston. Lord Francis Villiers, like a gallant boy as he was, had thrown himself into the midst of the rear guard, which bore the brunt of the attack. His horse having been killed under him, he continued to defend himself vigorously

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with his back against an elm tree which rose from a hedge, until an enemy dashed his steel cap off his head and slew him from behind. Few deaths in that blood-stained war struck the imagination of contemporaries with stronger pity than that of the high-spirited youth whose 'rare beauty and comeliness of person' wrung from Clarendon a lament such as might have beseeemed a writer of ancient Greece.

"Whether the danger was at an end still depended on the temper of the City. Sanguine Royalists had expected that large numbers of citizens, perhaps even whole regiments of the trained bands, would make their way to Kingston and would declare for King Charles. On the day of the fight the Derby House Committee gave orders that all the boats of the horse ferries over the Thames from Lambeth to Shepperton should be placed at night under guard on the Middlesex side, and that by day none should be suffered to cross except market people and persons employed in the service of the State. This state of uncertainty was soon brought to an end. Not only did no new recruits join Holland, but most of those already with him slipped away by degrees, seeking safety in concealment. On the morning of the 8th Holland himself gave up hope. Accompanied by about 200 horse, amongst whom were Buckingham and Dulbier, he pushed on without any clear object in view through narrow lanes by Harrow to St. Albans, reaching St. Neots on the evening of the 9th. In the dark hours of the next morning, Colonel Scrope, despatched by

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Fairfax to intercept the fugitives, burst into the little town. Dulbier was slain as he stood to arms. Holland, roused from sleep, took refuge in the archway of an inn, slamming to the iron gate which barred the entrance in the hope that he might gain time to effect his escape at the back. On this side, however, the broad stream of the sluggish Ouse stopped all passage, and the luckless commander of an abortive insurrection surrendered on condition that his life should be spared. Buckingham, more fortunate or more adroit, found his way safely out of the town in the darkness, and ultimately succeeded in reaching the Continent."

Such is the full account of this obscure and abortive rising. Holland, as it curiously happened, was imprisoned at Warwick Castle, and the Lords and Commons passed the following declaration as to him and his confederates :—

"Die Veneris, 7 Julii, 1648.

"Resolved, &c.

"That this House doth Declare, That the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Holland, Earl of Peterborough, and all that have or shall adhere to them, have and do Levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom, and are Traytors and Rebels, and ought to be proceeded against as Traytors and Rebels.

"Ordered, &c.

"That the several Committees in the several Counties and places where there lies any of the Estates Real or Personal of the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of

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Holland, Earl of Peterborough, or any other that have or shall adhere to them in this Action of Levying War against the Parliament and Kingdom, do forthwith proceed to the Sequestration of their Estates Real and Personal.

“H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.”

At the beginning of the next year he was brought to trial. His plea that he had surrendered on condition that his life should be spared ought unquestionably to have been allowed. But the Court, at the instance of the army, overruled it, and he was sentenced to death. Both his brother and Fairfax tried to save him, but a proposal to reprieve him was rejected by thirty-one votes to thirty, and the execution took place on March 9th, 1649. A pamphlet of the period enables us to be present at the gruesome ceremony, and to hear his dying speeches. It is long, but I give a portion of it. Thus:—

Holland.

Then the Earl of Holland embraced Lieut: Col: Beecher, and took his leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. Bolton, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosom. Mr. Bolton said to him, The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great extremity; The Lord reveal and discover himself to you, and make your death the passage into eternal life.

Holland.

Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner, said, Here my friend, let my Clothes and my Body alone, there is Ten pounds for thee, that is better then my Clothes, I am sure of it.

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Executioner.

Will your Lordship please give me a Sign when I shall strike? And then his Lordship said, You have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.

Holland.

Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner, said, Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my Head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art honest man: and then said, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgiveness; and then prayed for a pretty space, with seeming earnestness.

Bolton.

The Lord grant you may finde life in death.

Executioner.

Lie down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himself down, he said, Must I lie closer? Executioner: Yes, and backward.

Holland.

I will tell you when you shall strike; and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his head, said, Where is the man? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said, Stay while I give the Sign; and presently after stretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, Now, now, and just as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Such was his end—the very inglorious end of a thoroughly worthless man, who was the brother of one Earl of Warwick and the father of another.

CHAPTER IX

Mary Boyle—Her Family History—The Success in Life of her Father, Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork—Proposal of Marriage—The Suit of Charles Rich—The Obstacles that had to be surmounted—The Triumph of True Love—The Secret Marriage—Leighs Priory—The Civil War—The Reason why Mary Rich was at Leighs at the Time.

FROM these stories of blood and slaughter on the field and on the scaffold we may turn for a refreshing change to a love story. We find one in the life of Mary Rich, the Countess of Charles Rich, the second son of the illustrious Robert Rich, who succeeded his elder brother in the Earldom. She is best known to the world as the pious author of a self-complacent diary, which has gained her admission to an interesting series of so-called saintly lives; and there is no doubt that her claims to special sanctity merit our very attentive and respectful consideration. The pious part of her life, however, may wait until we have dealt with the romantic part.

Mary Rich was one of the less distinguished members of the distinguished family of Boyle. We may pause, therefore, to say a word or two about the House of Boyle and its founder.

The name is said to be a corruption of the name de Biuvile, which is found in Domesday Book; but the link between the Biuviles and the Boyles is missing. Our only genealogical information is to be

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found in the “True Remembrances” of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork.



From the picture at Chatsworth.

RICHARD BOYLE, FIRST EARL OF CORK, FATHER OF MARY RICH,
COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

“My father,” he writes, “Mr. *Roger Boyle*, was born in Herefordshire. My mother, *Joan Naylor*, daughter to *Robert Naylor* of *Canterbury* in the county of *Kent*,

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Esq., was born the 15th of October in the 21st year of King *Henry VIII.*, and my said father and mother were married in *Canterbury* the 16th of October in the 8th year of queen *Elizabeth.*”

And further :—

“ My mother never married again, but lived ten years a widow and then departed this life at *Feversham* aforesaid the 20th of March, 1586. And they both are buried in one grave in the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of *Preston* ; in memory of which my deceased and worthy parents I, their second son, have *in anno Domini* 1629 erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place where they were buried, with an iron gate before it for the better preservation thereof.”

Richard Boyle began life as clerk to Sir Richard Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He threw up this position to seek his fortune in Ireland, and he found it there. Good introductions gave him good opportunities, and he made good use of them. He was one of the English “undertakers” who took up estates in the counties of Limerick and Waterford. The estates thrived, and he bought more. For £1,500 he acquired the property of Sir Walter Raleigh in Munster. He built bridges and harbours and “works,” and engaged in various kinds of commerce. He exported bar iron and lead and pilchards and herrings, and made salt and pipe-staves ; and James I. made him Baron of Youghal in 1616, and Viscount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork in 1620. He married

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Katharine Fenton, lived principally at Lismore, and had many children, several of whom became distinguished. One of them was the Robert Boyle who became so famous in connection with the foundation of the Royal Society. Mary was his thirteenth child and seventh daughter.

In such leisure as trade and public affairs left him, the Earl of Cork arranged good marriages for his children. Several of them were affianced before they were in their teens—one of them at the age of thirteen months; and when Mary was only nine he proposed to betroth her to Mr. James Hamilton, only son of Viscount Clancarty. The courtship, however, was delayed until some years later, and Mary gives the following account of it :—

“ Soon after my father removed, with his family, into England, and dwelt in Dorsetshire, at a house he had purchased there; which was called Stalbridge; and there, when I was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, came down to me one Mr. Hambleton, son to my Lord Clancarty, who was afterwards Earl of Clanbrassill, and would fain have had me for his wife. My father and his had, some years before, concluded a match between us, if we liked when we saw one another, and that I was of years to consent; and now he being returned out of France, was by his father's command to come to my father's, where he received from him a very kind and obliging welcome, looking upon him as his son-in-law, and designing suddenly that we should be married, and gave him leave to

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make his address, with a command to me to receive him as one designed to be my husband. Mr. Hambleton (possibly to obey his father) did design gaining me by a very handsome address, which he made to me, and if he did not to a very high degree dissemble, I was not displeasing to him, for he professed a great passion for me."

As to the result of this passion, she adds:—

"The professions he made me of his kindness were very unacceptable to me, and though I had by him very highly advantageous offers made me, in point of fortune (for his estate, that was settled upon him, was counted seven or eight thousand pound a year), yet by all his kindness to me I could not be brought to endure to think of having him, though my father pressed me extremely to it; my aversion for him was extraordinary, though I could give my father no satisfactory account why it was so."

So the match was broken off, and the indignant Earl of Cork punished Mary by stopping her pin-money.

"Since which tyme," he writes, "for her disobedience in not marrying Mr. James Hamylton, the son and heir of the Lo. viscount of Clandeboy, as I seriously advised her, I have from the 21st of May, 1639, till this third day of June, 1640, deteigned my promised allowance from her, and not given her one penny."

But Mary still, she tells us, "continued to have an aversion to marriage, living so much at my ease



After the picture by Marshall.

WARWICK CASTLE.

that I was unwilling to change my condition, and never could bring myself to close with any offered match, but still begged my father to refuse all the most advantageous proffers, though I was by him much pressed to settle myself."

Presently, however, the family being now in London, and living in the Savoy, a more acceptable admirer appeared, in the person of Mr. Charles Rich, whom Mary describes as "a very cheerful and handsome well-bred and fashioned person," who was "then in love with a maid of honour to the Queen." Mary Boyle quietly superseded this lady in his affections, and he made overtures through her sister-in-law. Mary apprehended the paternal displeasure, and so "resolved at that time to give her no answer." But she continues:—

"After this first declaration of his esteem for me by my sister, he became a most diligent gallant to me, seeking by a most humble and respectful address to gain my heart, applying himself, when there was no other beholder in the room but my sister, to me; but if any other person came in he took no more than ordinary notice of me: but to disguise his design addressed himself much to her: and though his doing so was not well liked in our family, yet there was nothing said to him about their dislike of it, and by this way his design became unsuspected, and thus we lived for some months, in which time, by his more than ordinary humble behaviour to me, he did insensibly steal away my heart, and got a greater

possession of it than I knew he had. My sister, when he was forced to be absent for fear of observing eyes, would so plead for him, that it worked, too, very much upon me."

The poor child—she was only fifteen—tried to think no more of Mr. Rich, but found it hard to put him out of her heart because of the "full and great possession" he had of it. He made a further impression by the assiduity of his enquiries when she fell ill of the measles.

"Mr. Rich," she says, "then was much concerned for me, and his being so made him make frequent visits to me, though my sister Boyle was absent from me, and he was most obligingly careful of me; which as it did to a great degree heighten my passion for him, so it did also begin to make my family, and before suspecting friends, to see that they were by a false disguise of his kindness to my sister abused, and that he had for me, and I for him, a respect which they feared was too far gone."

So the cat was out of the bag. Lady Stafford told the Earl of Cork, and the Earl was furious. He sent Mary down to Hampton Court for change of air, and "told me that he was informed that I had young men who visited me, and commanded me, if any did so, where I was now going, I should not see them." The lovers, however, had come to an understanding, and the consent of the head of the House of Warwick had been gained. On the very day of the removal to the country the Earls of Warwick and Holland sent

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Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich, to propose the match to the Earl of Cork. We read that Lord Goring's pleadings were not very successful, and that, "though he did it very well, my father was so troubled at it that he wept and would by no means suffer him to go on." The next day, however, the Earls of Warwick and Holland appeared in person. The Earl of Cork was polite, but hardly cordial. He said he did not wish his daughter to marry a husband not of his selection; and he sent Mary's brothers, Dungarvan and Broghill, to Hampton Court to lecture her. Mary had been informed by her lover that they were coming. This is her recollection of the meeting:—

"I was disordered at their sight, knowing about what they came; but the extraordinary great kindness I had for Mr. Rich made me resolve to endure anything for his sake, and therefore when I had by my brothers been informed that they were, by my father's command, sent to examine me, what was between Mr. Rich and I, and threatened, in my father's name, if I did not renounce ever having anything more to do with him, I made this resolute, but ill and horribly disobedient answer, that I did acknowledge a very great and particular kindness for Mr. Rich, and desired them, with my humble duty to my father, to assure him that I would not marry him without his consent, but that I was resolved not to marry any other person in the world; and that I hoped my father would be pleased to consent to my having Mr. Rich, to whom, I was sure, he could have no other objection, but that

he was a younger brother; for he was descended from a very great and honourable family, and was in the opinion of all (as well as mine) a very deserving person, and I desired my father would be pleased to consider, I only should suffer by the smallness of his fortune, which I very contentedly chose to do, and should judge myself to be much more happy with his small one, than with the greatest without him.

“After my two brothers saw I was unmoveable in my resolution, say what they could to me, they returned highly unsatisfied from me to my father; who, when he had it once owned from my own mouth, that I would have him, or nobody, he was extraordinarily displeased with me, and forbid my daring to appear before him.”

This time, however, the old Earl's bark was worse than his bite. For Mary tells us:—

“After some time he was persuaded, by the great esteem he had for my Lord of Warwick and my Lord of Holland, to yield to treat with them, and was at last brought, though not to give me my before designed portion, yet to give me seven thousand pounds, and was brought to see and be civil to Mr. Rich, who was a constant visitor of me at Hampton, almost daily.”

Perhaps it was his intelligent anticipation of events before they occurred that hastened the Earl of Cork to his decision. The date was 1641. No one could doubt but that troublesome times were ahead, and not far ahead; and he had better opportunities than most men for forecasting the stormy political weather. He

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was old, and must have felt that it was well that his daughter should have some other protector whom he could trust. So he prepared for the wedding, and was resolved to make it a grand wedding. But Mary was of another mind, as appears from the following passage in her narrative:—

“Though he (Lord Cork) designed I should be married at London, with Mr. Rich’s and my friends at it, yet being a great enemy always to a public marriage, I was, by that fear, and Mr. Rich’s earnest solicitation, prevailed with, without my father’s knowledge, to be privately married at a little village near Hampton Court, on the 21st July, 1641, called Shepertone; which when my father knew he was again something displeased at me for it, but after I had begged his pardon, and assured him I did it only to avoid a public wedding, which he knew I had always declared against, his great indulgence to me made him forgive me that fault also, and within few days after I was carried down to Lees, my Lord of Warwick’s house in the country, but none of our friends accompanied me, but my dear sister Ranelagh, whose great goodness made her forgive me, and stay with me some time at Lees, where I received as kind a welcome as was possible from that family, but particularly from my good father-in-law.”

So the romance ended happily; and we are left free to picture the married life at Leighs, where Mary Rich, presently to be Countess of Warwick, was destined to pass the greater portion of her days.

Leighs (or Leez) Priory was, as I have already

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said, a part of the plunder that fell to the share of the wicked Lord Chancellor Rich at the time of the dissolution of the religious houses. It is two miles from Little Leighs, in the valley of the Ter, a tributary of the Chelmer, about half-way between Chelmsford and Braintree. Richard Rich rebuilt it. Nowadays it is an interesting ruin, of which little remains except a Tudor gate-house (the old porter's lodge) leading into a grass-grown courtyard, the central gateway of the mansion, and a bit of broken wall. It is, says Miss Mary E. Palgrave, "like a fragment of Hampton Court Palace married to an old grey farm." In those days it was a stately mansion, standing in a park of some thirteen hundred acres, with well-kept gardens. "Delicious Leez" was Mary Rich's name for it. Her chaplain, Dr. Walker, describes it as "a secular elysium, a worldly Paradise, a heaven upon earth."

Then, and for many years afterwards, it was the seat of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, whose Countess Mary Rich describes as "a rich woman, one Alderman Holidaye's widow, of the City, who, because she was a citizen, was not so much respected in the family as in my opinion she deserved to be, for she was one that assuredly feared God." On Mary's arrival at Leighs this lady "removed to her daughter Hungerford's, near the Bath, where she was resolved to stay till she was, by some person she credited, informed whether my humour were such as would make her to live comfortably with me." That question, however,

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was soon answered satisfactorily. The Countess of Warwick came back to Leighs, and she and Mary Rich got on very well together.

The Civil War presently broke out and ran its course, though it did not affect the life of Mary Rich so much as might have been expected. Leighs was in the eastern counties, and these counties, as we have already had occasion to mention, were held for the Parliament throughout the war. She could journey to London without apprehending trouble by the way; she could go to the play there—for the Puritans had not yet put it down—and walk in Spring Gardens, and drive in Hyde Park; she could live quietly at home without fearing that her house would have to stand a siege. Moreover, her husband was not a soldier, so that she had no anxiety on his behalf, though the fortunes of some others of her relatives may have troubled her.

Her family and her husband's were on different sides. Her father-in-law, as we have seen, held the navy for the Parliament. On the other hand, her father held Youghal for the King, and her brother, Viscount Kinalmeakie, fell fighting for the Royalists at the battle of Lisscarrol. This must have distressed her. And the time came when her own eyes were to see something of the turmoil.

That was at the time of the Second Civil War, the nature and occasion of which I have already carefully explained in recounting the part played in it by the Earl of Holland. Essex was no longer removed from

● The House of Rich

the sphere of agitation. On the contrary, as Professor Gardiner says, "the very Eastern Counties which had pronounced most strongly against the King in 1642 pro-



From an old print.

MARY RICH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

nounced with no less strength against military rule in 1648"; and thirty thousand of the inhabitants of Essex, as Arthur Wilson, the Earl of Warwick's steward, wrote,

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“petitioned the Parliament for a personal treaty with the King, that, by bringing in the royal power again, they might close up the breach which the division between the prince and the people had made.” In the very midst of this commotion Mary, with the little son that had been born to her, drove down from London to Leighs—a thirty-five miles’ journey—and experienced several adventures by the way.

To Mary Rich this journey was merely a disturbing interruption of a crisis in the spiritual life.

“About the twenty-first year of my age,” she writes, “God was pleased, by the powerful means I had constantly in that good family I was in, to awaken me to consider how necessary it was seriously to consider for a future state ; so I did then begin to think of being in earnest for my salvation, and made some promises to God of a new life.” These resolutions were waning when “it pleased God to send a sudden sickness upon my only son which I then doated upon with great fondness.” She then “did solemnly promise to God” to “become a new creature” if her prayers for the child’s recovery were favourably heard ; and she adds :—

“This prayer of mine God was so gracious as to grant ; and of a sudden began to restore my child ; which made the doctor himself wonder at the sudden amendment he saw in him, and filled me then with grateful thoughts. After my child’s full recovery, I began to find in myself a great desire to go into the country, which I never remember before to have had,

thinking it always the saddest thing that could be when we were to remove."

This was what brought her to Leighs at the time of the Second Civil War. Her period of pious meditation was the period of the horrors of the siege of Colchester. To these, however, her autobiographical writings make no reference. This is how she covers the ground :—

" But by these troubles that was in the country I was kept from having almost any of the neighbourhood to visit me, and from London nobody came neither ; and as well as I loved my husband's company, yet the apprehension I had that if he came down he would engage, made me rather at that time desire he should forbear coming (for I always was much averse to his engaging in the wars), so that for about two months together I had a retiring time ; but, O my God, how graciously did Thy gracious providence provide for me a good companion, who by Thy goodness to me, proved a kind of spiritual father to me."

CHAPTER X

The Religion of Mary Rich, and the General Religious Characteristics of the Time—The Differences between Mary Rich and her Husband—Hints towards the Allocation of the Blame—The Death of Charles Rich—The Funeral Sermon and its Dedicatory Note.

THE “good companion” and “spiritual father” mentioned at the end of the last chapter was the Earl of Warwick’s domestic chaplain, a certain Anthony Walker, Doctor of Divinity. In 1649 Lord Warwick gave him the living of Fyfield, which he continued to hold, thanks to powerful friends, after the Restoration, in spite of his Presbyterian proclivities. Fyfield, however, was within a drive of Leighs, and he continued to guide Mary Rich in the paths of piety for the remainder of her days.

She was probably the only member of any of the Warwick families who was ever, in the full technical sense of the word, “converted.” Conversion was, so to say, “in the air” in those days, and every student of the devotional literature of the period knows how much it meant. To understand it, historically at all events, one need go no further than Bunyan’s great work on “Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.” Perhaps one may almost understand it by a careful perusal of “The Pilgrim’s Progress” and Lord Macaulay’s essay thereupon, which people call cynical or sensible,

• The House of Rich

according to their temperaments. Its dominant characteristic was what we should now consider a morbid self-depreciation leading up to a self-satisfaction not less morbid. To find happiness save in meditation on the wickedness of this world and intelligent anticipation of the trumpets and shawms and sackbuts and psalteries of the next seemed to the converted eminently sinful. The end—the *summum bonum*, as it is called in the language of the moral philosophers—was the *ἐνέργεια ἀκινησίας* of the Land of Beulah.

That was certainly the view of John Bunyan, though he did not know Greek; and that was also the view of Mary Rich, though she was equally ignorant of that great language. The fact stands out clearly in her own account of her awakening by the domestic chaplain, and her subsequent and



THE CLOCK TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

Warwick Castle

consequent transition from a state of nature to a state of grace.

“This good and pious friend of mine,” she writes, “perceiving in me some inclination to be good, did much to assist and encourage me to a holy life, and by frequent discoursing with me, did show me the expediency and necessity of it, which made me begin to have more serious thoughts than ever in my life before I had; for I desire to acknowledge it to God’s glory in changing me, and my own shame, that I was, when I was married into my husband’s family, as vain, as idle, and as inconsiderate a person as was possible, minding nothing but curious dressing and fine and rich clothes, and spending my precious time in nothing else but reading romances, and in reading and seeing plays, and in going to court and Hyde Park and Spring Gardens; and I was so fond of the court that I had taken a secret resolution that if my father died, and I was mistress of myself, I would become a courtier; and though I was at this time of my vanity by God’s restraining grace kept from any gross or scandalous sin, yet I had only, to please my father, a form of godliness; but for the inward and spiritual part of it, I was not only ignorant of it, but resolved against it, being stedfastly set against being a Puritan.

“But, O my God, what shall I now render unto thee for thy converting grace, who didst by first shewing me the creature’s inconsistency, and not letting me find my happiness in any worldly thing, but still embittering the stream that I might come to the

fountain, and so by a sanctified affliction didst first in some measure loosen me from the world, and then by my worthy spiritual friend Dr. Walker's ministry, didst persuade me to come in and try what peace, happiness, and comfort there is in thy most holy ways, in which I did then find such contentment, as all my forepast life, in which I designed pleasing myself, never yielded me."

Of Mary Rich's life during the Commonwealth and Protectorate we do not know a great deal; but certain important things happened. She had the small-pox, and another mysterious illness, apparently of an hysterical nature. Her father-in-law died, and then her brother-in-law died, entreating her, on his death-bed, to be a mother to his three daughters; and Charles Rich became Earl of Warwick. "I had the satisfaction," the new Countess writes, "when he came to that honour and noble estate, that I never had so much as a wish for it; but on the contrary, hourly prayed for the recovery of them, and mourned for their deaths; for when I married my husband, I had nothing of that honour nor fortune in my thoughts; it was his person I married and cared for, not an estate."

The Restoration brought her husband forward for a moment, though only in an ornamental capacity. He was quite incapable of playing such a part as was played by General Monk; he was the last man in the world to whom any one would have looked for guidance. But, though he was a little man, he had a great position in the country; and therefore, when

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the country had responded favourably to the Declaration of Breda, and representative peers and commoners were sent to Holland to offer the crown to Charles II., he was one of the peers selected for the duty. Then he relapsed into obscurity, and we know little of him, except that he was somewhat of a trial to his pious wife.

As a matter of courtesy most writers have generally assigned all the blame for their little differences to him; but I have my doubts whether that is just. Charles Rich was no loose liver, and he was rather proud of his wife's piety. The story goes that he used to take divines aside and invite them to peep through the key-hole and see for themselves how fervently she engaged in prayer. It was a curious way, perhaps, of expressing his admiration, but it was well meant; and the only serious charge that can be brought against the Earl is that, when he had twinges of the gout, he swore. In this regard, no doubt, he was a little too much like the typical gouty nobleman of farce. But the gout of those days, the doctors say, was much more painful than the modern gout; and the faculty was not very skilful in relieving it. Consequently the temptation to swear must have been strong, and one gathers from the diary that the conversation of the Countess was provocative. Let me make a few extracts to show my meaning.

The first entry on the subject is as follows:—

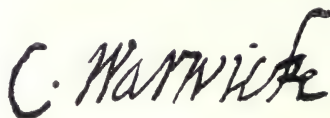
“In the morning, as soon as I awoke, I blessed God, then went out alone into the wilderness to

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meditate. After dinner, without any occasion given, my lord fell into great passion with me; I bore it patiently, without saying anything to provoke it farther, though I was inwardly troubled a while for it."

But this is very mild compared with what there is to follow. For example:—

"I had much good discourse with my lord about things of everlasting concernment, and I did with great earnestness beg him to consider what he came into the world for. Whilst I was pressing him to walk more closely with God, and to watch against his passion and the sad effect of it, and his swearing (which I with great plainness told him I observed he did more than when I left him), I shed many tears, and God was pleased not only to give him patience to hear me, but he seemed also to be affected at what I said. After supper he was in so much pain with the gout, that I was forced to go presently to bed, for fear of disquieting him."



AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES RICH,
EARL OF WARWICK.

And:—

"After supper my lord being passionate provoked me to a dispute with him, wherein though I was by God's mercy kept from saying anything unfit to say to him, yet he was very bitter, and I was affected and troubled at his unkindness and wept much, yet did not come to any quarrel with him, but was troubled both at my folly in entering into a dispute

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with him though I was in the right, and at my shedding tears, which I thought nothing deserved so much to have them shed for as my sins."

And:—

"My brother Hatton dined with us that day, and swore dreadfully, and talked so very ill that I thought nothing out of hell could have done: I was troubled to hear it, and did all I could to keep him from it; but not being able to do it, I did show my dislike at it, and was, by God's mercy, enabled to own religion, and to speak good of it before him. After dinner I got away from that wicked company; my soul being much grieved to hear my poor husband swear much too. I went to visit my lady Roberts, where I stayed till evening."

And:—

"After dinner I went abroad with my lord. I had many short returns to God by pious ejaculations; and had with my lord some good discourse, in which I did persuade him to thankfulness to God for the sweet estate we enjoyed, and for the plenty of mercies with which our lives were filled. At evening, speaking to him about a lawful and necessary business, he growing very passionate; I still persuaded him to do it, for which he grew so violent that he broke out into swearing. Afterwards, considering how, by my speaking in that business contrary to his desire, I had made him offend God, and that I had broke my resolution which I made last night (when in a dispute with me he cursed most bitterly), of not disputing



From a painting in the Castle by Canaletto.

WARWICK CASTLE, 1746.

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anything with him when he began to be passionate, though I was ever so much in the right, I was troubled, and begged God's pardon for my foolishness."

And finally :—

"After dinner got an opportunity of speaking to my lord about his soul's concernments, and I did much beseech him to be more careful for his soul's good, and told him of his offending God by his passions, and the sad effects of it. Afterwards my lord in a dispute fell into a great passion with me, upon which I found in myself a sudden violent eruption of passion, which made me instantly go away, for fear it should break out, and by so doing I was kept from having my lord hear me say anything ; but to myself I uttered some passionate words, which though no other heard, yet, O Lord, thou didst : oh, humble me for it."

On the whole these entries convict the writer at least as much as they convict her "lord." She must have been "gey ill to live wi'," as so many obtrusively pious women are—the more irritating because the religious talk of those days consisted mainly of talk about hell-fire. One's heart goes out in sympathy to the poor man who, when he was already suffering temporal torments in this world, was continually warned to expect worse eternal torments in the next. Nor does one's sympathy entirely disappear on hearing that, when his Countess brought Anthony Walker, Doctor of Divinity, to talk to him about his soul against his will, he sat up in his bed and cursed the worthy rector of Fyfield roundly.

• The House of Rich

He invited Dr. Walker to pray with him, however, before he died, and the rector preached a very flattering funeral sermon. He began by exalting the House of Rich :—

“ The *Delight* of the *Gentry*, the *Patron* of the *Clergy*, the *Darling* of the *Commonalty*, and the *Refreshment* of the *Poor* man’s *Bowels*. Whose *Noble Greatness*, and *Obliging Kindness* and *Bounty*, had almost engrost the Epithete of the *Good Earl* ; My *Good Lord* of *Warwick*.

“ This *Line*, I say,” he preached, “ which for well near an Hundred and Fifty Years ; by the *Right Honourable* Stiles and Titles of *BARON RICH* of *LEEZ*, and *EARL* of *Warwick*, have been the *Blessing* and *Glory* of this Neighbour-hood : And being *Honoured* by *God* with much *Riches* and *Plenty*, have *Honoured* him again, and done much *Good* by their *Bounty* ; and have *watered*, and made *fat* and *glad* the Vallies round about them, by shedding down that Dew, and Rain, which the *Divine Benignity* poured on the Heads of these Elevated Mountains. And have built their owne *Monument* in this place, which will be *Coevous* with the Sun and Moon, in the famous *Free-School*, and *Alms-House* or *Hospital*, which they Founded ; and so liberally, yea, Magnificently Indowed, in this Town.”

And he enumerated the late Earl’s “ *Moral Excellencies* not few. As *Justice*, *Truth*, *Affability*, *Submission to Reproof*, and *Counsel*, Acknowledgment of, and *Self-Condernnation* for his *Faults* ; Veneration for, Value of, Love to, *sober* and *pious* Persons ; yea,

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if we consider his *long*, his *tedious*, and *exquisite* Pains and Tryals, we must allow his Patience to have been considerable. His *Charity* to the Poor, Weekly at his Gates, annually to the Neighbouring Towns; and upon Extraordinary Occasions, as in the time of the *Plague*, to *Braintry* alone; He sent every Week one Fat *Oxe*, and many Weeks Two, to Feed the Poor; and Four or Five Pounds in Money, to pay a *Chirurgion* for attending of the Sick."

Surely, one feels, if all these things were true—and the preacher explicitly claimed to have "escaped splitting or dashing upon that Rock of Flattery which is the Hazard and Reproach of Funeral Sermons"—the apprehensions of the Countess and her spiritual monitor for the eternal well-being of the departed Earl had been as exaggerated as they were unquestionably irritating. But one suspects that Dr. Walker was not quite sincere. There is a sting in the Epistle Dedicatory of the sermon, addressed to "his singular good lady."

"Your Honour," says this somewhat spiteful introductory note, "had a dear and loving Husband; but that Husband had his great, his heavy, and his long Afflictions; and that Gout which was so severe to him, was sometimes less kind to you and others, than his Natural Temper. So that you felt its pain, not only by sympathy, as you did always, but sometimes in other effects."

Evidently there were limits to the preacher's belief in the maxim "De mortuis nil nisi bonum."

CHAPTER XI

The Seriousness of the Seventeenth Century—The Serious Friends of Mary Rich—Anne Hyde, Duchess of York—Lawrence Hyde—The Everards—The Maynards and Others—Mary Rich's Letter of Good Advice to George, Lord Berkeley—References in the Diary to the Plague, the Fire, and other Events of Public Interest.

WE return to Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick. She was really a very interesting woman, though one cannot help feeling that one would rather not have seen too much of her. Her life, as we are able to study it from her diary, preserved in MS. in the Library of the British Museum, throws really useful light upon the conditions of English society after the Stuart restoration. One is apt to think of that society as wholly given over to frivolity and vice in its delight at the disappearance of Puritanical restrictions. There was, of course, a reaction which, in its extreme forms, was very striking. The King was a wicked man, whose chief pleasure was to surround himself with wicked men and wicked women; and there was a sufficient supply of wicked men and wicked women for the gratification of his wishes. The tone of the Court was bad, and the tone of the theatres reflected it, because the courtiers were the chief patrons of the theatres. But the tone of the Court and the playhouses was not the tone

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of the community at large. Not only were there plenty of serious people in the country; there were plenty of serious people among the upper classes; there were even some serious people among the courtiers.

Nor was the seriousness confined to Puritans and Nonconformists. They, it is true, produced the best serious literature—since neither the Church of England nor the Church of Rome has ever produced a religious epic comparable with “Paradise Lost” or a religious allegory comparable with “The Pilgrim’s Progress.” But there was plenty of seriousness outside the ranks of Nonconformity, and not definitely associated with any specific form of religious belief. One of the Royal chaplains was “the famous young Stillingfleet,” as Pepys calls him. One of the great preachers of the period was the good Bishop Ken, the author of the beautiful hymn “Glory to Thee, my God, this night,” who has a certain collateral connection with the present House of Warwick, owing to the fact that he was once rector of Little Easton, near Dunmow, and chaplain to Lord and Lady Maynard, of Little Easton Lodge. Mary Rich went to hear him on Easter Day, and “had there such sweet communion with him that I could say it was good to be there.”

Moreover, besides the serious theologians, there were the serious men of science. The age of Wycherley, and Congreve, and Sir George Sedley, and the Earl of Rochester, was also the age of Wilkins, and Sydenham, and Sir Isaac Newton, and the founders of the Royal



After a picture by W. Westall, A.R.A.

WARWICK CASTLE FROM THE OUTER COURT, 1823.

Warwick Castle ♡

Society. One of the founders of that society was Mary Rich's brother, Robert Boyle. The diary mentions several times that she had agreeable religious discourse with him.

We must not make the mistake, therefore, of regarding Mary Rich as merely a religious recluse. She did not avoid society, though she did her best to avoid bad society. She did not attend the Court, but she had her considerable circle of friends and mixed freely with her neighbours. Her seriousness differed from theirs—or, at least, from the seriousness of some of them—in degree rather than in kind. It was only in self-consciousness that she conspicuously outshone them—in that and in the passion for speaking words in season, and for putting on paper the record of the vicissitudes of the inner life.

Her closest friends, both in London and in Essex, were members, as one would expect, of the best families of the time. Anne Hyde, then Duchess of York, daughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was one of them. "At evening," runs one entry in the diary, "went to see the Duchess of York; my heart was carried out much to compassionate her, and I wept with her." Lawrence Hyde, Lord Rochester, often visited both Warwick House and Leighs. Other friends were Sir Richard and Lady Everard, of Langleys, near Great Waltham.

"In the afternoon," we read, "I had with me my old Lady Everard. I had with her good discourse, and did advise her, having had lately a fit of an

apoplexy, to look upon it as a call to prepare her for her death and to leave off all the folly things of the world, and now to be serious in giving diligence to make her calling and her election sure. She seemed affected with what I said, and resolved to follow my advice."

Then there was Mary Tracey, Lady Vere, of Kirkby Hall, widow of Sir Horatio Vere—"my pious Lady Vere"—a very congenial spirit.

"My sister Ranelagh and I alone," says the diary, "went to see my lady Vere; and all the way, both going and coming, we had a great deal of holy discourse. And when we were at my lady Vere's, had with her much good discourse. She then told me that she had seen much of the world, being now above four score and seven years old, and that it was nothing worth, and that Christ was worth all."

Then there were Lady Manchester, widow of the second Earl of Warwick, and since married to the general who would not allow Cromwell to charge at Newbury, and Charles Rich's sister Lucy, married to Baron Robartes, the Cornish peer, who had fought for the Parliament, but was now Lord Privy Seal, who brought her into frivolous company. "Sir H. S. (Sir Henry Sedley) dined there that day," she says; "it was a great trouble to me to see him, for fear he should be profane, but it pleased God to restrain him, yet knowing how profane a person he was, it much troubled me to be in his company."

Next there were Lord and Lady Maynard of

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Easton Lodge. Lord Maynard, for his fidelity to the Royal cause, had been impeached for high treason in 1647, but at the Restoration had been made Comptroller of the Household. Lady Maynard was Lady Margaret Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dysart. Ken's funeral sermon represents her as a woman of much more than ordinary piety. She was one of the few serious people who, as has already been said, were to be found even in the Court. She lived, Ken says, "several years in the very Court with the abstraction of a recluse."

Finally, we must not forget George, Baron Berkeley, subsequently Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley, who was another of the serious people about the Court.

He had been a fellow-commissioner with Charles Rich at the Hague in 1660, and associated with Robert Boyle as an original member of the Royal Society. His serious disposition is attested by the fact that in 1668 he wrote a religious work—"Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Various Subjects"—designed to demonstrate the importance of religion from the experiences of celebrated men, which elicited from Edmund Waller the complimentary quatrain:—

Bold is the man that dares engage
For piety in such an age,
Who can presume to find a guard
From scorn, when Heaven's so little spared?

He was brought into connection with the Court

through holding an official position on the Council for Foreign Plantations, and Mary Rich addressed to him certain "Rules for a Holy Life," advising him how to comport himself in the uncongenial company with which he was sometimes obliged to mix. The rules were not intended for publication; but one Nathaniel Ranew, a Presbyterian divine, living at Billericay, near Chelmsford, got them printed, apparently without permission.

The Rules are many and various. Lord Berkeley is recommended "not to turn day into night," but to get up early and "pray with zeal and fervency," etc., etc., etc.—the most interesting rules being those relating to amusements. Mary Rich, one is somewhat surprised to find, did not require the devout to be invariably glum. "I would desire you," she wrote, "to be as cheerful as you can; and to that purpose I would recommend to you that gaiety of goodness, which will make you most pleasing to yourself and others." Perhaps the aspiration after the "gaiety of goodness" is a little difficult to reconcile with the severities of the Protestant creed of those days; but others besides Mary Rich have effected the reconciliation, and she had as much right as the late Mr. Spurgeon to be merry while anticipating the damnation of the majority of mankind.

She understood, too, that a man at Court must compromise, and might even have to gamble. Perhaps, if she had lived in our time, she would have put up with bridge, though disapproving of it, and

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advised her pious friends to go to Ascot, if the King went, but not to allow the turf to interfere with godliness. For this is what she says:—

“When you have thus spent your morning [in prayer, business, and the ordering of the household], then I am not so rigid as to forbid you all recreations; no, I think them very necessary for diversion; but I must be so severe as to forbid you such as may put you into any passion or disorder, which may be hurtful both to soul and body. Therefore I would absolutely forbid you dice and cards too, unless it be sometimes, when you must keep these limitations; first, not to play all day long, as if you were made only to eat and drink, and rise up to play. For certainly God did not give us time, as we give children rattles, only to play withal. Remember what your good friend Dr. Taylor says, that ‘He that spends his time in sports, and calls it recreation, is as he whose garment is nothing but fringes, and his meat nothing but sauce. Therefore I shall advise you, that your recreations may be as your sauce, not as your full meat. The second limitation I would advise is, not to play for more than you care, whether you win or lose; remember that Mr. Herbert, in his excellent poems, says,

‘Game is a civil gunpowder in peace,
Blowing up houses with their whole increase.’”

Leaving this branch of the subject, we may turn to see what light the diary throws upon the public



From a photograph by L. C. Keightley Peach.

THE COURTYARD AND GATEWAY, WARWICK CASTLE.

events of the time it covered. It is hardly of such interest either to the historian or to the general reader as the diaries, belonging to the same age, of Evelyn and Pepys; but it helps us similarly, albeit in a less degree, to see the period with the eyes of a contemporary. It began in 1666—the year after the Great Plague, and the year of the Great Fire, and certain great battles with the Dutch. Let us see how the news of the Great Fire came to Leighs:—

“September 3,—Monday. After dinner much company came in: towards evening came the news of London being on fire, which much amazed and troubled me, and made me pray for that distressed place and people. The fire began the 2nd of September.

“4,—In the morning my sister (Lady Ranelagh) went to London, and I retired into the wilderness to think of the sad miseries of poor London. After dinner came the news of half the city's being burned down, and the fire still going on to devour.

“5,—Fast-day. I got up betimes, and when ready went to meditate and to consider what I had in particular done to provoke God to punish this nation. News came that Holborn was all on fire, and Warwick-house burned. I thank God I found my heart more affected for the common calamity and suffering of others than for that, and was not at all disordered with the news, but bore it patiently. Then I went to the chapel to hear Mr. Glascock preach: his text was, Isaiah xxvi. 9, ‘When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.’

"6,—Thursday. In the morning, I went out into the wilderness to meditate; when I came in, I heard that Warwick-house was not burned; for which I blessed God. In the afternoon, went out to hear the news, came not home till evening; then prayed again."

And how Lady Warwick went to London and saw the ruins:—

"November 20,—Tuesday. In the morning, as soon as ready, prayed to God to go along with me in my journey to London, and then took coach to go, and by the mercy of God got safe thither without any misfortune. As soon as I entered into the burned city, my eyes did affect my heart, and the dismal prospect of that once famous city, being now nothing but rubbish, did draw many tears from me, and made me pity and pray for those who had their habitations burned, and beseech God to make up all their losses to them, and give them patience to bear them. When I came to Warwick-house to my lord, I found him, blessed be God, pretty well, but being weary and ill with the headache went to bed and there committed myself to God."

Another interesting note relates to the disgrace of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, with an incidental reference to the temper of the Earl of Warwick:—

"August 26. In the morning, as soon as up, I retired and meditated; and having the night before heard that the King had sent to the Chancellor to advise him to deliver up the seals, my meditations ran much upon the vanity and uncertainty of all

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worldly greatness, and how much better it was to put confidence in God, than in princes; I did then in prayer beseech God to sanctify this fresh example to me, and more still to wean me from all worldly things. Then I went to London to dine at Newport-house, and from thence went to see Warwick-house, which I had not seen before since my lord began to build [*make alterations*—Woodroffe]; whilst I was there the workmen, not having done what they should, put my lord into a passion, and made him swear very much, which was so great a trouble to me, that I took no joy in seeing the house, though it was very fine, but I got into a private room and begged God to forgive my poor husband his swearing, and to give him patience, that the house might be perfumed with prayers, and not profaned by oaths, and that God might like to dwell amongst us there.”

And again:—

“August 31. Went with my sister to Clarendon-house to dinner, and to see my niece Hyde, having heard that the night before the king had sent to demand the seals from the lord chancellor, which were that night sent the king. After dinner, I went to see the duchess, with whom I had some mortifying discourse of the uncertainty of all worldly glory: returned not home till late.”

And also:—

“November 5. Went to see my lord Clarendon; which was a loud sermon to me, not to put confidence in princes, nor in all the greatness of this world, to

see him that was so great a favourite left as he was. I returned not home till late in the evening."

Elsewhere there is a reference to the Duke of York's great victory over the Dutch in Southwold Bay—a victory to which testimony is still borne by the harmless battery of captured cannon just outside the town. We are in 1671:—

"June 1. Having heard that on the 28th of last month the Dutch fleet and ours were engaged in a most dreadful sea fight which still continued, I found my heart exceedingly affected to think how much Protestant blood was shed and how many souls were, as I feared, eternally miserable by it."

And so forth. The serene and sincere, but deplorably self-conscious, piety of Lady Mary is brought out clearly in all these comments of hers on the stirring events of her time. The greater issues all passed unperceived by her—the greater religious issues no less than the others. Not being a Nonconformist, for all her Puritanism, she writes as though unaware of the religious persecutions of the reign, and of that stubborn resurgence of dissent which was presently to "fling the burthen of the Second James." Whatever happened she gauged by her religious emotions of the moment. She may be defined as a religious woman who saw no farther than her nose.

CHAPTER XII

Family Affairs—Mary Rich's Three Nieces and the Arrangement of their Marriages—The Will of Charles Rich and the Legal Business which it entailed—The Retirement of Mary Rich to Leighs—Her Last Years there and her Death—A Reconsideration of her Character.

IT remains to avail ourselves of such light as the diary throws upon the family affairs and private fortunes of the members of the House of Rich. We may begin with the death of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, Lady Mary's brother-in-law.

"In the year 1659," she writes, "on May 30th, died at London my Lord's eldest brother, then Earl of Warwick, and left no son, only three daughters, which upon his death-bed, I promised to have while I lived as great a care of as if they had been my own, and that promise I can truly say I have performed, for I have from the time of their father's death, that I took them home to me, with the same care bred those three ladies, who were all left to my care young, as I could have done if they had been my own children, studying and endeavouring to bring them up religiously, that they might be good, and do good afterwards in their generation; and I am sure I have the affection of a mother for those three sweet, hopeful young ladies, which I beseech God to bless, of whom the name of the eldest was my Lady Ann, the name

of the second my Lady Mary, and the name of the youngest my Lady Essex."

Mary Rich, in her own manner, was a good mother to the girls, as she had promised to be. She has recorded how she used to chide them for their faults. For instance:—

"Being much out of humour when I was chiding my Lady Essex, I did it too passionately, for which afterwards I was troubled."

And again:—

"Whilst I was discoursing with my Lady Mary, and telling her of her faults, I found a sudden eruption of my passion, which made me speak unadvisedly with my lips some passionate words."

She doubtless clung to them the more affectionately because of the early death of her only son. He lived to grow up and to marry, on September 2nd, 1662, Lady Anne Cavendish, daughter of the third Earl of Devonshire. According to the custom of the time, the husband, being no more than a boy, was sent to complete his education by a course of foreign travel, while the wife came to live with her mother-in-law at Leighs. The sad sequel is thus chronicled in the autobiography:—

"My son stayed not so long as he was designed to in France; but returned back to his wife, and they lived together with me till May 1664; and then, the eighth day of that month, my dear and only son fell ill, and it proved to be the small-pox, in which distemper of his, after I had removed his wife out of the house

from him to her father's (for fear of her being infected), and had sent away my three young ladies to Lees, and got my lord to remove to my sister Ranelagh's, I shut up myself with him, doing all I could both for his soul and body; and though he was judged by his doctors to be in a hopeful way of recovery, yet it pleased God to take him away by death the 16th of May, to my inexpressible sorrow. He wanted about four months of being of age."

"It was so sad an affliction," the bereaved mother continues, "that would certainly have sunk me had not my good and gracious God assisted me to bear it, and given me this comfortable cordial of seeing him die so penitently that I had many comfortable hopes of his everlasting happiness; he making so good and sober an end." There was the usual funeral panegyric over "the only son of an Antient Hereditary Earldom, by blood and marriage the Son of Two, and the Grand-child of Four Eminent Earls, and as many Countesses, and Nephew to more Peers than all Arithmetick hath Digits . . . a branch of Two Families: the one the grand nursery of Ancient Piety, the other the Happy Source of Newest Ingenuity, in a word the Son of two bloods which I may boldly call not the least ornaments of two great Kingdoms."

Thereafter Mary Rich had only her nieces to love; and she was equally attentive to their temporal and spiritual interests. She prepared them to receive the Holy Communion in a proper spirit: "After dinner, my Lady Essex being ready to receive, and



From a photograph by H. N. King.

THE WEST FRONT, WARWICK CASTLE.

she never having done it before, I did with her sister and her take much pains. . . . I did in discourse with the young ladies, especially with my Lady Essex, warn them to be careful to keep their engagements made to God at the Sacrament." She also occupied herself in arranging suitable marriages for them.

Her desire was that the Lady Essex should marry Mr. Vane. This gentleman, son of the Sir Henry Vane, who was executed in 1662, and elder brother to Christopher, Lord Barnard, "received my lord's full consent and mine, if he could gain Lady Essex to have her." But the Lady Essex had a will of her own. The engagement was duly made, but we read under the dates of October 24th and October 27th, 1673 :—

"October 24. This day my Lady Essex broke the intended match between Mr. Vane and her against my advice and very much to my dissatisfaction, who counselled her to choose so good and sober a person, but after I had done so leaving her to herself to determine what she would do, she gave him a flat denial, which grieved me.

"27. In the morning I prayed, but was dull and distracted in the duty, my mind being this morning much opprest with trouble for Mr. Vane's going from hence, upon my Lady Essex's absolutely breaking off the match with him, he being so good a man I thought she would have been happy with him."

The autobiography records the sequel :—

"My Lady Essex Rich having, after my lord's

death, broke off a match, which was treated of before my lord died, between Mr. Thomas Vane and her, I had several offers made me of matches for her, but they were disliked by me, because the young men were not viceless; and I had taken a resolution that no fortune, though the greatest in the kingdom should be offered me, should be accepted, where the young man was not sober, which made me instantly give flat denials to all the above-named proposals. But afterwards I had, from my Lord Keeper Finch, a match proposed for his son, Mr. Daniel Finch, about which, when I had consulted with her own relations, and found they approved of it, as I also did, upon the assurance I had from all the persons that knew him, that he was an extraordinary both ingenious and civil person (which upon my own knowledge of him, I afterwards found to be true), I did recommend this match to the young lady, giving her, when I had laid the conveniences I believed was in it before her, her free choice to choose or not, to do as she liked or disliked; but after some time that he had made his address to her, she consented to have him, and was by Mr. Wodrofe married to him in Lees Chapel, June the 16th, 1674, his father, my Lord Keeper, then being by the King made Baron of Dantry, being present, with a great many more of his and her relations."

The Lady Mary was more amenable. This is the brief note in the autobiography:—

"About four months after my lord's death, my

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Lady Mary Rich, my lord's niece, who I had constantly bred from the time of her father's death, was married at Lees Chapel by Dr. Walker, the 11th December, 1673. The match was agreed on before my lord's death, but finished by me, much to my satisfaction, because it was a very orderly and religious family, and there was a very good estate, and the young gentleman she married, Mr. Henry St. John, was very good-natured and viceless, and his good father and mother, Sir Walter St. John and my Lady St. John, were very eminent for owning and practising religion. And here, O my good God, let me return thee my praises for hearing the reiterated prayers I put up to thy Divine Majesty, for her being by marriage settled in a family where thy sacred name was had in veneration."

It does not seem quite clear, however, that Lady Warwick's desire that her niece should breathe an atmosphere of piety for the remainder of her days was fulfilled as completely as she would have wished. At all events "my Lady St. John" became the mother of that Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, concerning whom the lady of light repute uttered the famous exclamation, "Twenty thousand guineas a year, girls, and all for us!"

By the time she had thus got her nieces married, Mary Rich was nearing the end of her days. The complicated and multifarious bequests of her husband's will occupied her with uncongenial work in "the sale of lands for raising portions and payment of debts."

Nevertheless, she says, "though there was a great many several persons I had to deal with, yet I satisfied them all so well, as I never had anything between them and me passed that was determined by going to law, but all that was in dispute between us, was always agreed on between ourselves in a kind and friendly way ; for which, O Lord, I bless thee."

At last, however, it was all over, and she could go home to Leighs to rest. She had many visitors there ; and if they were in any way sinful, she never hesitated to refer to their sins and offer admonition. "I had," she writes, "with my Lord Fitzwalter good discourse, and endeavoured to persuade him to give up a sin to which I knew him to be much addicted, and much I persuaded him to quit the company by which he was enticed to offend God." And again : "Lord Ranelagh and Mr. Progers came from London to see me. I talked to Mr. Progers and pressed him to forsake his sins."

There is a temptation to smile at all this. Let us resist it and refrain. Or, at any rate, let us bear two things in mind while smiling. Let us remember, in the first place, that the conduct of all these gentlemen was such as to call for admonition : Lord Fitzwalter was a hard drinker ; Mr. Progers was a gay good-for-nothing of the Court, the confidant of his King's illegitimate amours ; Lord Ranelagh, Lady Warwick's nephew, was an even more scandalous young man, who ended a career of pleasure-seeking by defrauding the Government of one million pounds in the capacity

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of Army Paymaster, and being expelled from the House of Lords in consequence. Let us remember, in the second place, that these gentlemen were under no obligation whatsoever to go to see Lady Warwick and listen to her admonitions. They "faced the music" of their own free will, riding thirty miles out into the country for the purpose. The inference is irresistible that they did not mind her sermons, though they did not profit by them, and that she had a tact, a gentleness, and a charm which her own confessions would not have led us to suspect.

Dr. Walker, her biographer, tells us that it was so. "As we say," he writes, "of some neat well-fashioned persons that 'whatever they wear becomes them, and sits well,' I must do her this right to testify I never saw religion become any person better. And it was hard not to approve and love a dress so decent and adorning." We should not, perhaps, believe this on the strength of Dr. Walker's unsupported testimony; but the conduct of the dissolute gives evidence in corroboration of the view.

To some extent these last peaceful years of hers remind us of the sojourn of the Christian pilgrims in the Land of Beulah. It is particularly so when we read the record of her meditations. For example:—

"July 15. In the afternoon I retired to a place in the park, where I had formerly had sweet communion with God. In that sweet solitary place, having found that tree to be like Zacchæus to me, out of which I had had a sight of Christ, I was no sooner there but

"I found my heart to pant and to follow hard after God, that I might converse with Him as I had formerly done in that place."

This, indeed, reads like a bit of Bunyan transported to real life.

One feels intuitively, when reading it, that one will presently read of the passing of the river by a pilgrim who finds the waters shallow and the foothold firm, and clearly sees the shining ones, with outstretched hands, waiting ready to draw her to the shore, and take her to the King. And so it is.

In March, 1678, Lady Warwick altered her



CÆSAR'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

will and revised her legacies. "Whereas," says Dr. Walker, "she had before given many honourable Legacies in money to persons of great quality: she said she would alter them all, for this reason, because they were rich and money they needed not, but she

would give it in something they might keep, as kind memorials of her; and when she had set down all their names in a paper, she also bethought herself what would be most acceptable to every one of them. For, said she, that renders a gift most agreeable, when it suits the fancy of the party to whom it is designed. And then, surveying her own store, she fixed on what to give to most of them, but not finding herself actually provided, of what she might bequeath to all, she resolved to leave all to a Codicil, to be annexed to her Will, and expressly said: I am now, God willing, going to London, when I have finished my Will, and then I will by discourse find out undiscerned what will be most pleasing to every one of them, and will provide accordingly."

Almost immediately afterwards, and before she had time to go to London, she was taken ill. She seems to have felt that the end was coming, though other people thought the illness only slight. "Well, ladies," she said to some who were sitting with her, "if I were one hour in heaven, I would not be again with you, as well as I love you."

"Having then," Dr. Walker proceeds, "received a kind visit from a neighbouring lady, at her departure she rose from her bed to her chair, in which being set, she said she would go into her bed, but first would desire one of the ministers then in the house to go to prayer with her; and asking the company which they would have, presently resolved herself to have him who was going away, because the other would stay and

pray with her daily ; and immediately he being called, and come, her ladyship sitting in her chair, by reason of her weakness—for otherwise she always kneeled—holding an orange in her hand, to which she smelt, almost in the beginning of her prayer she was heard to fetch a sigh or groan, which was esteemed devotional, as she used to do at other times. But a lady looking up, who kneeled by her, saw her look pale, and her hand hang down, at which she started up affrighted, and all applied themselves to help ; and the most afflictively distressed of them all, if I may so speak, when all our sorrows were superlative, caught her right hand, which then had lost its pulse and never recovered it again."

And so she died ; and in writing of her death I find that I have somewhat changed my mind about her. Her self-consciousness and her tone of spiritual superiority irritated me at first, as it unquestionably irritated her "dear lord." But I also see—what he, perhaps, did not see—the transparent sincerity of her nature ; and I can also see—what he did not live to see—the softening of her character under the chastening influence of loss and sorrow, and the pure beauty of the holiness that encompassed her at the last.

Religion in those days, be it remembered, had crowned Death, the King of Terrors. People really believed in the Devil as a roaring lion going about seeking whom he might devour. The clear declarations of the preachers left little room for mystery or doubt, and still less room for the faint trusting of the

larger hope. No one of them suggested that God would "make allowances," or would judge men by their opportunities as well as by their actions and their creeds. It was the rule, not the exception, to be "afraid to die." It was a grave question for every one whether he or she was "prepared to die." And in that age, and in the midst of those beliefs, Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, looked the King of Terrors in the face with clear and fearless eyes, and saw that he was not terrible at all.

It was a beautiful life and a beautiful death for those who have the sympathy and the imagination to see it; and I feel that I cannot better end the story than with the beautiful quotation which her biographer, Miss Palgrave, makes from "The Pilgrim's Progress":—

"At her departure the children wept. But Mr. Greatheart and Mr. Valiant played upon the well-tuned cymbal and harp for joy."

All the poetry of the religion of the seventeenth century is in that quotation, and in the story of the happy death of Mary Rich.

CHAPTER XIII

The Fortunes of Leighs Priory—Its Destruction—Other Earls of the House of Rich—Robert Rich—Edward Rich—His Widow's Marriage to Addison—Some Considerations on that Marriage—Edmund Henry Rich—Poetical Tributes received by him—The Extinction of the House of Rich.

WITH the death of Mary Rich the interest of the House of Rich begins to wane. Her diary has told us of the death of more than one heir to the title: first, of her son Charles, who had no children; secondly, of her brother-in-law, Hatton Rich. Her regret for the loss of Hatton Rich can hardly have been harrowing. "It was a very great aggravation of my loss of my son," says the autobiography, "to think who would come in his room, if my lord died, and what a sad change would be made if my brother Hatton should come to Lees, who would, as himself said, alter the way of that house for the entertaining there those holy and good persons that came, who he was resolved to banish thence; but though he was very confident, as himself often told many of his companions, that he should be Earl of Warwick, yet God was pleased to disappoint his expectation by taking him away by death at London, on February the 28th, 1670."

And the sorrow expressed in the diary was hardly more than perfunctory:—

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“March 1, 1670-1. In the morning, as soon as I awoke, I was informed of the ill news of the death of my lord's brother, Hatton Rich, which drew some tears of compassion from me. He died at London, about seven o'clock the night before. I was most of the morning with my lord and the young ladies, comforting them. Got some time only to pray.”

Under the will of Charles Rich, who had not been well disposed towards his cousin of Holland, the property ceased to go with the title. The estates were divided among the late Earl's three sisters, the Ladies Mandeville (Manchester), Robartes (Radnor), and Scarsdale, and his three nieces, the Ladies St. John, Barrington, and Finch (Nottingham). Leighs came into the possession of Lord Manchester, who was thus, so to say, “inducted” by the courtier-like rector of Fyfield:—

“And for your noble lordship, who are now investing yourself with her large and noble Mantle—May Elijah's spirit rest upon you, as well as his Mantle: that you may rise up an Elisha in her place and stead; that *Leez* may be *Leez* still: the Seat of nobleness and honour, the Hospital of bounty and charity, the Sanctuary of Religion and the fear of God. That so you may live, and may live longer, and as much desired, and when you die (as die you must, for *Leez*, though a Paradise, hath no Tree of Life), you may die later, and as much lamented as your Noble Predecessors.”

The Montagus kept the place for about forty years. Then, finding that it was quite enough to keep up

Kimbolton, William, created Duke of Montagu, sold Leighs, in 1721, to the guardians of Edward Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire. The Duke died a minor,



From a print after Vandyke.

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK,
WIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF WARWICK.

and the property passed to his half-brother, Charles Herbert, who took the name of Sheffield. Presently it was sold again, this time to the Governors of Guy's Hospital, to whom it still belongs. It was then pulled down, all but a portion of the servants' quarters, retained to be transformed into a farmhouse, and the great gateways already referred to. The park was cut up into farms.

Such was the end of Leighs. Our business now is to follow the fortunes of the holders of the title.

The Earl who succeeded Charles Rich was his cousin Robert—the fifth Robert—son of the Earl of Holland whose decapitation for high treason we have recorded. Born in 1620, he had been Lord Kensington since 1624, and Earl of Holland since 1649. He first married, in 1641, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram, Knight, of Temple-Newsum, in Yorkshire. She died in 1661, and he then married Lady Ann Montagu, daughter of Edward, second Earl of Manchester, who survived him, was buried at

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Breamor, and had her funeral sermon preached by the Bishop of Salisbury. The only part of the Warwick property that came to him with the title was Warwick House in Holborn and the living of Saint Bartholomew the Great. His motto—"Rien sans devoir"—should have pleased Mary Rich; but he was a person of no particular importance. He died in 1675, having only been Earl of Warwick and Holland for two years.

Next comes Edward Rich, the son of the fifth Robert by his second wife. Born in 1673, he succeeded to the title as a minor, and did not take his seat in the Upper House until November 20th, 1694. In that year—which was the year of the defeat of William III. by the Duke of Luxemburg—we find his name in a letter from Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley. This is the reference:—

"1694, October 9.—Several of our English Lords have come over from the King. Earl Rivers, and the Earls of Warwick and Scarborough, the Duke of St. Alban's and others narrowly escaped drowning, their ship having struck on a sandbank. They were forced to use the long boat."

For the rest he would appear to have been a young man of a character more violent than admirable. The age was one of swaggering blades who were always quarrelling and settling their quarrels lawlessly. Sometimes it was a duel with no too scrupulous observance of the rules of honourable combat. Sometimes the high-placed desperadoes suborned murder, and sometimes they committed it. One may get a



After the painting by Wissing.

Warwick

EDWARD RICH, EARL OF WARWICK AND HOLLAND.

glimpse at their doings in Thackeray's "Esmond," or in Macaulay's History, or, better still, in any volume of memoirs covering the period. And in this evil age

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Edward Rich was the associate of desperadoes of the baser sort. This is what W. Snowe writes about him to Robert Harley :—

“1697, Octr. 23.—Some time since Lord Mohun killed Captain Hill at the Rummer at Charing Cross belonging to the Foot Guards. His Lordship absconded, but yesterday he was taken out of Lord Warwick’s house in Essex Street and carried before Chief Justice Holt, who took the Earls of Warwick and Macclesfield, Colonel Coote and Sir Robert Tyrrell for his bail in 3,000*l.* each.”

“*Noscitur a sociis.*” “Birds of a feather flock together.” The inference cannot be favourable. And from the annals of our criminal proceedings worse things transpire. Edward, Earl of Warwick, “was tried at Westminster Hall 28 March, 1699, for murder. The charge ran, ‘that your Lordship, together with Charles, Lord Mohun, Baron Mohun of Oakehampton . . . Rich. Trench, gent., Roger James, gent., and George Dockwra, all of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, did, not having the fear of God before your eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil the 30th day of October in this tenth year, etc., of Will. III., etc., etc. . . . That the Earl of Warwick and Holland slew one Richard Coote, Esq., J.P., with a sword made of iron and steel of the value of 5*/-*, and that the others aided and abetted.’”

The plea was “not guilty,” but the verdict was “guilty”—of manslaughter; and the Earl of Warwick and Holland only escaped hanging because of his

privileges as a peer, and was, even so, warned that he would not be allowed to plead privilege a second time. It is a sad story of a misspent youth: one fears that it was only because he died young that Edward Rich did not also misspend his middle age. He died, in fact, on July 31st, 1701; and his widow—Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, Baronet, of Chirk Castle, in the county of Denbigh—is a much more interesting person than he is. She is to be remembered as the Dowager-Countess of Warwick who married Mr. Joseph Addison.

The fact of the marriage hardly makes it necessary to interpose an essay on the genius of Addison. At the same time it does seem to me to be regretted that the great Dr. Johnson was so disloyal to the great profession of letters, of which he was himself, in his works, if not in his person, so remarkable an ornament, as to make the marriage an occasion for pompously censorious observations on the subject of ambitious love. Let us have the passage from the “Lives of the Poets” before us. Here it is:—

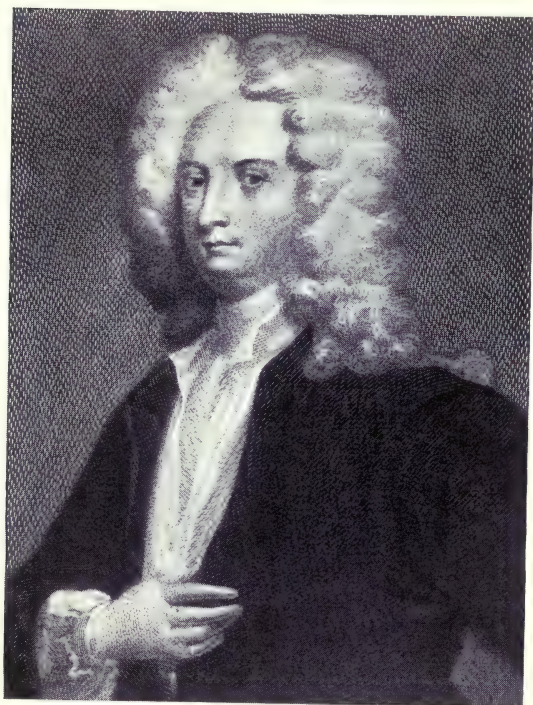
“This year, 1716, he married the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, perhaps with behaviour not very unlike that of sir Roger to his disdainful widow; and who, I am afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion. He is said to have first known her by becoming tutor to her son. ‘He formed,’ said Tonson, ‘the design of getting that lady from the time when he was first recommended into the family.’

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In what part of his life he obtained the recommendation, or how long and in what manner he lived in the family, I know not. His advances, at first, were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased; till, at last, the lady was persuaded to marry him, on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused, to whom the sultan is reported to pronounce, 'Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave.' The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them nor made them equal. She always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of the Despairing Shepherd, is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair; and it is certain that Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love."

The whole paragraph is written in a style of studied insult; and no doubt some of the facts set forth in it are, so far as they go, correct. It does appear from all contemporary accounts that this Dowager-Countess of Warwick treated Mr. Addison with a disdain which he ought by no means to have tolerated. Some women will do that sort of thing if they are allowed, and Mr. Addison allowed it. He is said to have fled before it to the tavern to console himself among the wits for the chilly splendours of the domestic hearth. To say that, however, is merely to say that Mr. Addison did not assert himself as he

should have done, and as a man of more vigorous character would have done, and that his Christianity, of which, as is well known, he boasted so complacently on his death-bed, went too far in the direction of meekness.



From the painting by Jervis.

JOSEPH ADDISON, WHO MARRIED CHARLOTTE,
DOWAGER-COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

My own very strong opinion is that Mr. Addison could have made out a very good case for the proposition that the Dowager-Countess of Warwick had encouraged his advances, if she had not actually thrown herself at his head. As *pièce justificative* he might certainly have

laid upon the table, as I now do, certain "Stanzas to Lady Warwick on Mr. Addison's going to Ireland," written by the contemporary poet Rowe. This is how the poet Rowe thought it becoming to address her on this delicate subject:—

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I.

Ye gods and Nereids who rule the sea !
Who chain loud storms, and still the raging main !
With care the gentle Lycidas convey,
And bring the faithful lover safe again.

II.

When Albion's shore with cheerless heart he left,
Pensive and sad upon the deck he stood,
Of every joy in Chloe's eyes bereft,
And wept his sorrows in the swelling flood.

III.

Ah, fairest maid ! whom, as I well divine,
The righteous gods his just reward ordain ;
For his return thy pious wishes join,
That thou at length may'st pay him for his pain.

IV.

And since his love does thine alone pursue,
In arts unpractis'd and unus'd to range ;
I charge thee be by his example true,
And shun thy sex's inclination, change.

V.

When crowds of youthful lovers round thee wait,
And tender thoughts in sweetest words impart ;
When thou art woo'd by titles, wealth, and state,
Then think on Lycidas, and guard thy heart.

VI.

When the gay theatre shall charm thy eyes,
When artful wit shall speak thy beauty's praise ;
When harmony shall thy soft soul surprise,
Soothe all thy senses, and thy passions raise :

VII.

Amidst whatever various joys appear,
Yet breathe one sigh, for one sad minute mourn ;
Nor let thy heart know one delight sincere,
Till thy own truest Lycidas return.

No one can deny that these lines are strong evidence for the prosecution. If poets could write thus to Lady Warwick about Mr. Addison without rebuke, the presumption is strong that Lady Warwick had herself advertised her inclination for that gentleman. The poet would hardly have committed the indiscretion on the strength of idle rumour.

Nor does it seem to me that Dr. Johnson was any more just than he was generous in calling the marriage "ambitious," though it is true that it had all the appearance of being advantageous. He was misled, no doubt, by the deplorably shabby condition of men of letters in the age in which he was himself so unfortunate as to live. Even in that age, of course, some of the greatest men of letters belonged to society as well as to "the Club," and were more at home in the drawing-room than in the tavern and the coffee-house. The historian of the Roman Empire, whom Boswell sneers at, and who was a Member of Parliament, holding office, and a friend of Fox, and an intimate friend of Lord Sheffield, is an instance. But no doubt the typical men of letters were the men whom Johnson mixed with—unwashed men, who waited in ante-rooms in shabby coats, drank punch in the Fleet Street taverns, lived, when they lived anywhere at all, at such addresses as Bolt Court or Gough Square, were the obedient, humble servants of the booksellers, put to strange shifts to pay their landladies, and altogether deplorable in their manners, however admirable by their talents.

In the age of Anne, however, things were different. Though there was already a Grub Street then, the great men of letters had no need to live in it. They could make plenty of money by their writings, and they could pull plenty of the plums of patronage out of the pie of life. Pope's villa still exists at Twickenham to remind us of one case in point. Swift's deanery is evidence of another. The poet Prior represented the Court of St. James at the Hague. The case of Mr. Addison was similar.

He was well educated at Charterhouse and Magdalen College, Oxford. He had travelled; there have been many editions of his narrative of his grand tour in Switzerland and Italy. He had good friends; his most intimate friend, Sir Richard Steele, had been at one time in the Guards. He had given his proofs both in prose and poetry. Not only was the *Spectator* the most popular periodical of the day—his poem celebrating the victory of Blenheim was the most popular of all the many that were written. It brought him not only applause, but official recognition—he was made a Secretary of State. In short, he was just the sort of man whom one would expect to marry well, especially if he did not marry with undue precipitation. He married well, though unhappily; but the cause of the unhappiness was personal, and not inherent in the difference between his station and his wife's. She was too proud, and he was too weak and meek. That, I imagine, is the explanation of the matter. There was no social gap between them that tact and firmness should not easily have bridged.

The Countess's son—the Earl of Warwick who had the advantage of tuition from Mr. Joseph Addison—was Edward Henry Rich. It would seem that he had a high regard for his tutor and stepfather. On Mr. Addison's death the poet Tickell addressed to him a poetical lamentation. It is really very good. I quote from it :—

TO THE EARL OF WARWICK, ON THE DEATH OF MR. ADDISON.

If, dumb too long, the drooping muse hath stay'd,
And left her debt to Addison unpaid,
Blame not her silence, Warwick, but bemoan,
And judge, oh judge, my bosom by your own.
What mourner ever felt poetic fires !
Slow comes the verse that real woe inspires :
Grief unaffected suits but ill with art,
Or flowing numbers with a bleeding heart.

That awful form, which, so the heavens decree,
Must still be lov'd and still deplor'd by me ;
In nightly visions seldom fails to rise,
Or, rous'd by fancy, meets my waking eyes.
If business calls, or crowded courts invite ;
Th' unblemish'd statesman seems to strike my sight :
If in the stage I seek to soothe my care ;
I meet his soul, which breathes in Cato there :
If pensive to the rural shades I rove ;
His shape o'ertakes me in the lonely grove ;
'Twas there of just and good he reason'd strong,
Clear'd some great truth, or rais'd some serious song :
There patient show'd us the wise course to steer,
A candid censor, and a friend severe ;
There taught us how to live ; and (oh ! too high
The price for knowledge) taught us how to die.

Thou hill, whose brow the antique structures grace,
Rear'd by bold chiefs of Warwick's noble race,
Why, once so lov'd, whene'er thy bower appears,
O'er my dim eye-balls glance the sudden tears !

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How sweet were once thy prospects fresh and fair,
Thy sloping walks, and unpolluted air !
How sweet the glooms beneath thy aged trees,
Thy noontide shadow, and thy evening breeze !
His image thy forsaken bowers restore ;
Thy walks and airy prospects charm no more ;
No more the summer in thy glooms allay'd,
Thy evening breezes, and thy noon-day shade.

Nor was that the only poetical address received by the young man in an age when poetical addresses were the order of the day. The poet Rowe wrote lines which I will also quote, entitled "To Lord Warwick, on his Birth-day" :—

When, fraught with all that grateful minds can move,
With friendship, tenderness, respect, and love ;
The muse had wish'd, on this returning day,
Something most worthy of herself to say :
To Jove she offer'd up an humble prayer,
To take the noble Warwick to his care.
Give him, she said, whate'er diviner grace
Adorns the soul, or beautifies the face :
Let manly constancy confirm his truth,
And gentlest manners crown his blooming youth.
Give him to fame, to virtue to aspire,
Worthy our songs and thy informing fire :
All various praise, all honours, let him prove,
Let men admire, and sighing virgins love :
With honest zeal inflame his generous mind,
To love his country, and protect mankind.
Attentive to her prayer, the god reply'd,
Why dost thou ask what has not been deny'd ?
Jove's bounteous hand has lavish'd all his power,
And making what he is, can add no more.
Yet since I joy in what I did create,
I will prolong the favourite Warwick's fate,
And lengthen out his years to some uncommon date.

● The House of Rich

Save for these poetical effusions we know little of the young man, and they have told us hardly anything. He took his seat on January 21st, 1719. He was made



A LEATHER FLAGON.
At Warwick Castle.

Lord of the Bedchamber to George, Prince of Wales, in 1718, and Lord of the Bedchamber to King George I. in 1719. Under the date of August 19th, 1721, we find, among the MSS. of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, a letter from Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle, telling us that "my Lord Warwick is gone off very young; I hear he made no will, and there is but 300 a year goes with the title, which

will make a very poor Earl."

The date of his death¹ was August 16th.

The "poor Earl" who succeeded was his cousin,

¹ His *Arms*, 1701-1721, were: "Quarterly, I. Gules, a chevron between 3 crosses botonée or, (Rich); II. Sable, on a chevron engrailed or, 3 martlets gules, between as many demi-griffins segreant and erased ermine, (Baldrie); III. Argent, on a chevron azure, between 3 roses slipped proper, as many fleur de lys or, (Cope); IV. Argent, on a bend vert, 3 wolves' heads erased of the field, (Middleton). *Crest*: Upon a mount proper, above a wreath or and gules, a wyvern statant, wings elevated, argent, langued of the second. *Supporters*: Two reindeer proper, attired or. *Motto*: Garde ta foy."

another Edward Rich, who was Cornet in Newton's regiment of dragoons in 1715, Gentleman Usher to the Prince of Wales after 1716, a Commissioner to inspect the Courts of Justice and enquire into fees in England and Wales in 1734, and a Governor of the Foundling Hospital in 1739. He died in 1759. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Samuel Stanton, Esq., of Lynn Regis, in the county of Norfolk, he left no sons, but only a daughter. The title therefore became extinct, and the family also became extinct when the daughter, Lady Charlotte Rich, died unmarried in Queen Anne Street, at the great age of seventy-eight, on April 12th, 1791.

Our task, therefore, of relating the lives and fortunes of the leading representatives of this family, at one time so great, but finally so unimportant, is now at an end. To generalise about them is not quite so easy as was the case with some of the other houses previously passed under review. The note is, perhaps, variety alike of talent and of temperament. Worse men than Richard Rich, the founder of the family, have seldom in this country occupied prominent positions in the State. On the other hand, better public men than Robert Rich, the second Earl of Warwick of his line, have not, if we may ignore the irresponsible piracies of his youth, been numerous. He shines in comparison with his brother Henry, who had much of his ability, but little, if any, of his solid worth, and also with his sons, who, whether virtuous or vicious, were of no particular importance.

• The House of Rich

Among the Countesses of Warwick of the period, too, we find the same tendency towards extremes. Reflection duly made, one feels, with every respect for her many admirable qualities, that Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, was more ostentatiously pious than she need have been. On the other hand, it is not necessary to reflect at all in order to perceive that Penelope Rich was a great deal more light in her behaviour and a great deal more prone to yield to the amorous advances of comparative strangers than she should have been. The two women stand, so to say, at the opposite poles of human conduct.

These are matters, however, which have all been dealt with already in their several places. The time has come to quit them definitely, and to proceed to our review of the house which next acquired and still holds the Warwick Earldom, and already possessed Warwick Castle while the Riches were in enjoyment of the title.



*From the painting by Paul van Somer in the National Portrait Gallery.
Photo by Walker & Cockerell.*

KING JAMES I. OF ENGLAND AND VI. OF SCOTLAND, WHO CREATED FULKE
GREVILLE LORD BROOKE AND GRANTED TO HIM WARWICK CASTLE.

BOOK VI

THE HOUSE OF GREVILLE

CHAPTER I

The House of Greville—John de Greyville—William de Greyville—William Grevil of Campden—A Description of his House at Campden—The Acquisition of Milcot—The Greville Genealogy—Edward Greville—The First Fulke Greville.

AS we have seen, the title of Earl of Warwick has belonged to the House of Greville since the year 1759. The title of Baron Brooke is older, having been bestowed upon Sir Fulke Greville in January, 1620-21, and in 1746 the Earldom of Brooke was created. Warwick Castle has been in the possession of the family from a still earlier date; it was granted to Sir Fulke Greville by James I. in 1605.

Sir Fulke Greville, is not to be regarded as the founder of the family, though he was the first Greville sufficiently famous to find a place in the ordinary biographical works of reference. He was grandson of a Sir Fulke Greville, a notable soldier of the reign of Henry VIII., and a great-grandson of a Sir Edward Greville, also a soldier, present at the storming of Tournai; and the family had, even in Sir

Warwick Castle

Edward's time, been sufficiently prominent to have its lineage recorded in Camden's roll. Camden, indeed, begins his roll with John Grevill, who died before the thirty-third year of Edward III.—that is to say, some time about 1360; but research elsewhere brings to light records of still earlier Grevilles.

We begin with a John de Greyville. There is a document, dated after St. Martin, 1300, from which we learn that "Richard de Wodenor quit-claims to John de Greyville three obols annual rent-charge arising from a pasture called Petites Close and Bagge Croft, which Robert Le Som formerly held." Another document, dated Wednesday before St. Vincent, 1313-14, shows that this John de Greyville's son and heir, William de Greyville, "grants to William Taleman and Alice h. w. 10/6 rent out of a messuage in Henton next Stepel Asshcome." Then comes Camden's John Grevill, who left, by his wife Margaret, a son, William Grevil of Campden.

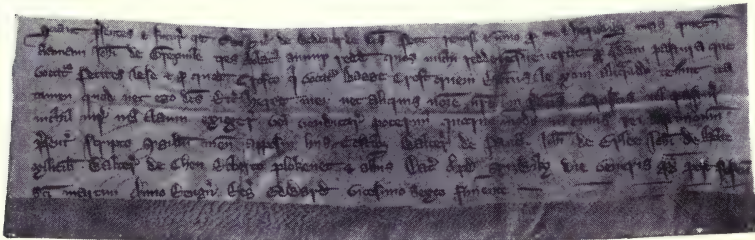
This William Grevil of Campden was a notable man, and we know certain things about him. Rymer's "*Fœdera*" tells us that, on August 10th, 1397, he lent the King 200 marks. He lived at Campden; and the following description of his house there has been compiled for me:—

"The house is a building of six bays facing south, on the north side of the main street of Campden. It consists of two stories, built of roughly quarried stone with elaborate dressings. The main outline, one bay, and a doorway of the original house are intact; but

● The House of Greville

in the walls several windows of late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been inserted.

"The westernmost gable is parallel with the street, and has a projecting half-hexagonal oriel of two stories, the lower with a range of transomed lights on its three sides, and corresponding lights adjoining in the main wall. The next bay has a pointed original door of three orders (quarter-rounds separated by broad fillets). The weather-mould is broad, and ends in flat circular drip-stones, each centred with an eight-



THE EARLIEST DEED MENTIONING THE GREVILLE FAMILY.

lobed rosette. The next bay has been much altered. It is of two stages, the lower a long rectangular transomed window of six lights, above one of four, succeeded by a gable with a sundial, which rises nearly to the level of the main ridge of the roof. The succeeding bay is richly ornamented and part of the original building. It is a half-hexagonal oriel, like the former, of two stages, the lower pierced with double cusped openings, the interior cusps not coinciding with the outer, and thus adding to its richness of view from inside the room, yet further increased by the flat ceiling to the window panelled with quatrefoils in circles. The

Warwick Castle

pierced openings are succeeded by a plain space richly panelled ; the cusped and pointed bases of these panels form, with the arches of the window below, spandrels, which are carved with foliage. The upper parts of these panels are rectangular, and have rich cusplings. Above is a second tier of lights, also cusped, and the oriel



THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM GREVIL AT CAMPDEN.

terminates with a plain mould and two gurgoyles ; the gable matching the former is an addition. The succeeding bay has a wide four-centred arch for a carriage-way. The final bay has also been considerably altered. The roof is slated with stone, and has one original chimney with well-executed cresting-mould."

The House of Greville

Such was the first great home of the House of Greville. Nor was it the only one. William Grevil also bought Milcot from Sir Walter Beauchamp; but I can offer no description of Milcot, since it was sacked and burned in 1639 by Puritans coming, by one of history's little ironies, from Warwick Castle, to prevent the King's forces from making it a garrison. The remains of it are now incorporated in a farm. The manor was settled by William Grevil on his heirs male by Joan his wife, with remainder upon John and Ludovic (or Lodowick), his sons by Margaret, his first wife, and their heirs male.

William Grevil died on April 2nd, 1401, and was buried in the chancel of Campden Church, where there is a handsome brass to his memory.¹ His will

¹ This consists of an almost life-sized effigy of the worthy merchant and his wife beneath a double canopy, with arms and the following marginal inscription: "Hic jacet Willelmus Grevil de Campedene quondam Civis London & flos mercator lanar^o totius Anglie qui obiit pmo die mense Octobris An^o Dñi 1^o millmo cccc pmo. Hic jacet Mariona uxor predicti Willelmi que obiit Decimo die mensis Septembris Anno Dñi Millmo cccxxxvi Quor^o aia p̄picietur Deus Amen." William is represented with short hair, forked beard, and wearing the usual livery of a wealthy merchant—buckled shoes, long tunic, fastened with a leather girdle, from which hangs on the left the anelace. The sleeves of the tunic show beneath them buttoned mittens. Over this he wears the livery of his guild—a long ample gown fastened with buttons at the right shoulder, and a hood. His lady has an extremely simple costume—a nebulé head-dress with frills on the crown of the head, a long plain robe buttoned from neck to the feet, and a kirtle. The mittens are shown below the robe. The two figures are placed under canopies ornamented with cusped and crocketed ornaments. In the triangles of the canopy is the merchant's mark of Grevil, and above, four times repeated, the shield of the family—viz. on a cross engrailed, within a bordure of the same, five roundels; in dexter canton a mullet pierced. The word "p̄picie" is lost.

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cannot be found ; but we know from Edmundson that he left 100 marks towards the repair of Campden Church ; £200 to maintain four chaplains there to say mass for ten years for his soul and those of his ancestors ; his manors and lands to Joan, his wife, John, his son, and Richard Brothell, his executors ; and made Roger Hatton, Abbot of Evesham, and Sir William Bradley, supervisors.

John Grevile I. comes next. He was Sheriff of Gloucester in the reign of Henry IV. He was twice married : first, to Sibyl, daughter and heiress to Sir Robert Corbet, Knight ; secondly, to Joyce, daughter of Sir Walter Cokesey. He had a son, John Grevile II., and died in 1441, and was buried at Drayton. His arms were : “ Sable, upon a cross engrailed, within a bordure of the same, ten annulets of the second ; in first quarter a mullet gold.”

John Grevile II. was a public man, though hardly a great man. He was a Knight of the Shire in five Parliaments of the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI. He was a Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire, a Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and was knighted by Edward IV. His will, which was proved at Campden on August 23rd, 1480, directs that he shall be buried in the parish church of Weston-on-Avon, and bequeaths, among other legacies¹ :—

¹ His arms were : “ Sable, a cross within a bordure engrailed ; in first quarter a mullet or.”

The House of Greville

To the Cathedral of Worcester, 6^s 8^d.

To the building of the Church of Weston, £50.

To the four orders of Friars xxvi^s viii^d, the chaplains of each to say mass for his soul for 7 years, for which each is to have 1 mark.

To Thomas, his son and heir, £40.

To his eldest daughter, Anne, £200.

To his daughter Margaret, £100.

To Sir Thomas Rutter, Vicar of Weston, for obits, 8 marks.

To John Walshe, 4 marks.

The witnesses to the will were Sir Thomas Rutter and Sir John Aplene, Chaplain.

Of Thomas Grevile, the son and heir of John Grevile II., there is not a great deal to be recorded. He was twenty-six at the time of his father's death, and assumed the name of Cokesey in respect of his inheritance from his grandmother. His chief seat was Milcot. His public appointments were those of Sheriff for Warwickshire and Leicestershire, Commissioner of Array for sending Archers into Brittany, Justice of the Peace, and Justice for Jail Delivery. He was made a K.B. at the coronation of Henry VII., and a Knight Banneret for valour at the battle of Stoke. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Herbert, but died without issue in 1499.

On inquisition his heirs were found to be Robert Russell and Robert Winter, who inherited lands of Cokesey; while the Grevile lands reverted to John, great-grandson of Lodowick or Ludovic, second son of William Grevil of Campden.

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We hark back, therefore, to Lodowick Greville, though we know little about him, except that he rendered his family the signal service of raising it to great wealth, so that they possessed the value of 3,300 marks per annum. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Giles Arderne, Knight, of Drayton—a considerable heiress, who bore him four sons. He and his heir John de Greville are both buried at Drayton. I have been supplied with the following descriptions of their monuments:—



THE MONUMENT OF LODOWICK GREVILLE AND HIS LADY, 1419, IN DRAYTON CHURCH.

● The House of Greville

MONUMENT OF LODOWICK GREVILLE AND HIS LADY, 1419.

This consists of an incised slab of alabaster, much damaged. It was formerly the *mensa* of an altar-tomb, but now lies in a corner of the tower floor, and has had coals piled upon it in the past, and is now damaged by the hob-nailed boots of the ringers. It ought to be removed to a safer spot.

It represents two figures incised in an alabaster slab. On the right is a lady in a horned head-dress, with her head resting on a tasselled cushion. She wears a tight-fitting under-tunic, with an ample upper robe with large sleeves which reach nearly to the ground. Above are her arms and those of her husband, which partly retain their colouring: Sable, a cross within a bordure engrailed for Greville impaling Ermine, a fess azure for Arderne.

There is also this second shield: Ermine, a fess azure.

The effigy of her husband is in full plate-armour, with pointed bascinet, diagonal sword-belt, and misericorde.

The upper part of the slab has this inscription:—

Hic jacet lodowic Grevell
quondā Dñs de Dravton et Ma
rgareta uxor eius filia et
here^d Dñi Egidii de Arderne
Qui quidem lodowic obiit
xviii die mensis Augusti ann
o Dñi m cccc xix qui
[cuj aīe] pacietur Dñs.

TOMB OF JOHN GREVILLE, 1440.

This consists of a plain altar-tomb with an incised mensa. It formerly stood by the wall of the south chantry, and originally, no doubt, in the centre of the chantry chapel before the altar.

It is incised with the effigy of a knight in pointed bascinet, with his head on a tasselled cushion, and is armed in entire plate with rather unusual pauldrons. On either side of his head are the arms of Arderne, and a shield of Arderne impaling a chevron between three crosses crosslet.

The marginal inscription is thus inscribed:—

Hic jacet
Johañes Grevell armiger filius et heres
Lodowici Grevell de Dravton qui quidem
Jhañnes obiit xviii die mensis Augusti
Anno Dñi m cccc xl cui aīe paciētur
Dñs Amen.

And below is a seventeenth-century translation, *viz.* :—

. . . Lodovic Grevil of Drayton which
John died the 18th day of the month
of August An^o Doⁱ 1440 on whose soul
the lord be favourable Amen.

This John Greville married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Frances, of Formark, in the county of Derby, Knight. He died in 1440, his successor being his son, Ralph Greville. Ralph Greville married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Poyntz,

of Frampton-Cotterell, who brought to the family achievement the quarterings of Poyntz, Bardolph, Mallet, Clanebow, and Acton.

Next in order of succession come Ralph Greville's son, John Greville, who also succeeded to the lordship of Milcot, on the death of the Thomas Greville who changed his name to Cokesey. A brass in Weston-on-Avon Church preserves his memory. He is represented on it as bareheaded and bearded, in full plate-armour, with a tabard, bearing, quarterly, Greville, Arderne, and Poyntz. The sword is worn on the left side, the dagger on the right. Beneath the tabard is the shirt of mail, with "vandycked" edge, and over it the taces, showing the fastenings. The feet are in sollerets with spurs. The mound has conventional flowers and foliage. The space between the legs is coarsely cross-hatched. The crest from the helmet, on which his head rests, and the shields above and below the figure, are all missing.



THE TOMB OF JOHN GREVILLE,
1440, AT DRAYTON CHURCH.

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The inscription reads:—

Hic situs est Joannes Grevillus, eques auratus Milcoti
Olim Dominus qui fatū implevit An^o redemptionis humane
Supra Millessimū quintesimū quadragesimo sexto Edwardi
Vero sexti Anglorū Regis Secundo Calendas Decembris.

Which means:—

“Here lies John Greville, Knight, formerly Lord of the Manor of Milcot, who died in the year of human redemption 1546, and in the second year of Edward VI., King of the English, in December.”

The few facts that we know about this John Greville are that he was a Justice of the Peace and a Justice for Jail Delivery under Henry VII., that he was admitted to the Guild of Stratford-on-Avon, with Joan his wife, in 1497-8, and that the said Joan was daughter of Sir Humphrey Forster, of Harpenden.

We next note his son, Edward Greville, the Edward Greville who was not only present but received knighthood for his valour at the storming of Tournai. He was also at the siege of Terouenne, and attended the King and Queen to Canterbury, and thence to Calais and Guisnes. Henry VIII., as a mark of his favour, granted him the wardship of Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress, and at last sole heiress, of Edward Willoughby. We see him in his brass at Weston-on-Avon Church, where he is represented bareheaded and bearded, his head resting on a tilting-helmet with his crest—on a wreath, a greyhound's head gorged with a leather collar punched with five holes and fastened

● The House of Greville

by a ring-buckle. He is armed in a suit of plate over a shirt of mail, which is "vandycked" at the lower edge. Under his armour is seen the frilled shirt-collar, and at the wrists are small ruffles. Over the armour is worn a short-sleeved tabard, with arms on the shoulders and in front, which have once been enamelled. They are: Quarterly, 1 and 4, Greville, *viz.* Sable, on a cross engrailed, within a bordure also engrailed, or, nine ogresses; 2, Ermine, a fess chequy or and azure (Arderne); 3, Quarterly, per fess indented azure and argent (Poyntz).

The sword is worn on the left, its pommel bound with wire and encircled with a spiral band. The dagger is on the right. The large scoloped taces appear above the mail shirt. The legs are sheathed in greaves with circular genouillères. The sollerets are large, the spurs small. The plate between the legs is left plain. The mound on which the effigy stands is roughly hatched to imitate foliage. Below is this inscription:—

Hic situs est Edvardus Grevellus, eques auratus
Milcoti olim Dominus qui fato cōcessit pridie natalis
Christi An^o Salutis humane quinquagesimo nono supra
Millesimū et quingētesimū imperante tum Anglis
Serenissima Regina Elizabetha annūiam alterium.

Which is, being interpreted:—

"Here lies Edward Greville, Knight, formerly Lord of the Manor of Milcot, who died on the day before Christmas Day, in the 1559th year of our salvation, and the second of the reign of the most gracious Queen Elizabeth."

The four shields, two above and two below, are lost.

Edward married Anne, daughter of Robert Denton, Esq., of Armesden, in the county of Bucks. John Greville, of Milcot and Drayton, was his eldest son. This John married Elizabeth, daughter of John Spencer, Esq., of Hodnet, and was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI., but died in the following November. The only document relating to him that can be given is his will, which runs thus:—

The Will of SIR JOHN GREVYLL,
of Myllcote, co. Warwycke, Kt.;
dated 7 Marche 1546[-7].

I desire to be buried in the church of Weston, whereof I am very true and just patrone, purchased of King Henry VIII.

I will that Edward Grevyll, my son and heir, be sole executor of all my goods I shall leave behind me at the day of my departing.

All household stuff within the howses of Mylcote shall remain to my said son Edward; and all waynes, horses and oxen, etc., there shall remain to the heirs of Mylcote.

All my servants shall have one year's livery and wages, with their horses they customably ride.

As touching my daughter Isabell Mesye, I will she shall have yearly 6li. 13s. 4d., to be paid by Edward Grevill until that Thomas Mesye shall take her, and so continually to kepe her the term of her life.

The residue of my goods I give to my executor.

And I heartily desire my brother, Sir Fulke Grevill, Kt., my brother Sir Thomas Grevill, with Mr. Willington, to take the paynes to be supervisors of this my last will.

Thes men being witnesses the 20 day of November 1547:
WILLM WILLINGTON; BASILL FYLDING; JOHN SOM^oVYLL; GEFFRY
MARKHAM; THOMAS GRIVELL; WILLIAM LOUNDE, clerke.

(Signed) SIR JOHN GRIVELL.

Proved 12 November 1548, by WILLIAM LOUNDE, clerk, proxy for the executor named.

● The House of Greville

The name in this document which at once strikes the eye is, of course, that of Sir Fulke Greville. He was not the famous Sir Fulke Greville, but he was his grandfather. Between him and the estates stood the son Edward of the will. This Edward Greville II. married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of William Willington, of Barcheston, mentioned as one of the executors of the will. He had a son, Lodowick Greville II., who married Thomasin, daughter of Sir William Peters, Knight, by whom he had a son, Edward Greville III. This Edward III. married Joane, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Chancellor of England, by whom he had a son, who died in his father's lifetime, and seven daughters. Then Sir Fulke Greville, second son of Sir Edward Greville, and brother of Sir John Greville, inherited.

And now we have reached the point at which the genealogical mists begin to lift, and personal biography is henceforth possible. This Fulke Greville had a love story, of which we can give an account from a MS. printed by Edmundson, and now at Warwick Castle, written in 1644, and entitled "The Genealogie, Life, and Death of Robert Lord Brooke." It runs as follows :—

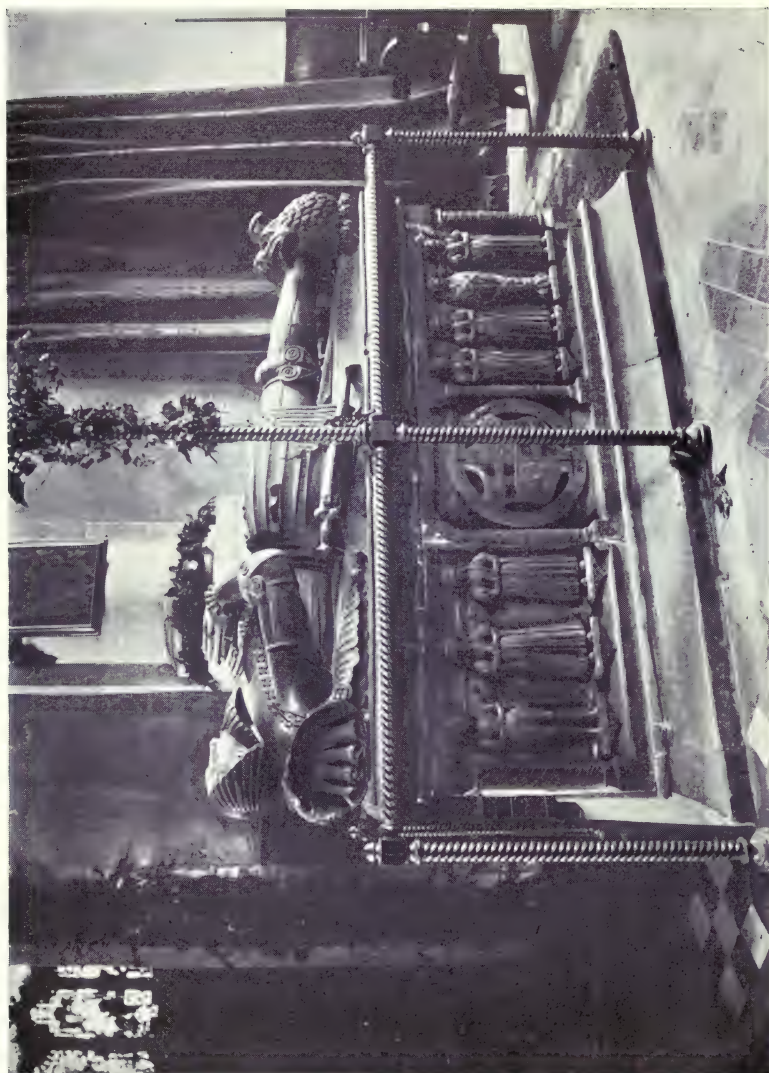
"In the days of King Henry the Eighth I read of Sir Edward Grevill of Milcote, who had the wardship of Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Lord Brooke's son. This knight made a motion to his ward, to be married to John, his eldest son ; but she refused, saying that she did like better of Foulke,

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his second son. He told her, that he had no estate of land to maintaine her, and that he was in the King's service of warre beyond the seas and that his returne was very doubtfull. Shee replied, and said that shee had an estate sufficient both for him, and for herselfe; and that shee would pray for his safetie, and waite for his coming. Upon his returne home, for the worthy service he had performed, he was by King Henry honoured with knighthood; and then he married Elizabeth, the daughter of the Lord Brooke's son."

This romantic marriage brought the family, among other estates, the Manor of Alcester. Sir Fulke settled at Alcester, at Beauchamp Court, and added largely to the property, buying lands in Coughton, Kinwarton, and Exhall. He was Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the reigns of Edward VI. and Henry VIII., and died and was buried at Alcester. The following is the technical description given me of his altar-tomb:—

"On a handsome tomb recline the effigies of the knight and his lady. The former is represented bareheaded, the head resting on a helmet with the family crest—a greyhound's head gorged with a chain. The effigy wears plate-armour, with taces over shirt of mail, feet with broad sollerets resting on a lion. His lady is attired in a tight-fitting robe, the stiff folds of petticoat arranged uniformly about her feet. Over this is a loose outer robe, tabbed down the front, and with long lappets pendent from the shoulders and



From a photograph by L. C. Keightley Peach.

THE TOMB OF SIR FULKE GREVILLE THE FIRST AND HIS WIFE ELIZABETH IN ALCESTER CHURCH.

Warwick Castle ♡

ornamented with chevron-shaped tabs. From her waist hangs a chain and pomander, lawn ruffles appear at her neck and wrists, and upon her head is a close-fitting cap. Around the tomb is the following inscription :—

“Here lieth the Body of Ffowlke Grevile Knight and Lady Elizabeth his wife, the daughter of Edward Willoughbye esquier the sonne and heyr of Robart Willoughbie knight Lord of Broke and Lady Elizabeth one of the daughters of the Lord Beauchamp of Powycke. Foulke dyed the x day of November año dñi MDLIX and the seid Lady Elizabeth hys wyffe departed the — day of — in the yere of or Lord God MDLX of whose soules God have mercy Amen.

“At the west end are the arms of Greville, quartering Arderne and Poyntz, and impaling the nineteen quarterings of Willoughby, all within a garter lettered ‘Dicens me dona patientia.’ About the sides of the tomb are effigies of their children, and on the cornice the separate quarterings of Willoughby; while at the east end are the arms of Greville, Willoughby, and Beauchamp of Powick, and their respective quarterings, while above the tomb is the funeral helm and hatchment of the Knight.”

Fulke Greville II. was a great Warwickshire landowner, and Member of Parliament for his county in 1586 and 1588. Born in 1525, he married Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. His son, Fulke Greville, born in 1554, is the Fulke Greville who is famous.

CHAPTER II

Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke—His Friendship with Sir Philip Sidney—
The Favour of Queen Elizabeth—His Travels and his Interview with
William the Silent—His Great Position as Courtier and Man of Letters—
His Abandonment of Literature and Devotion to Public Affairs.

SIR FULKE GREVILLE, first Lord Brooke—the famous Sir Fulke Greville—was born at Beauchamp Court in 1554, and at the age of ten was sent to the newly founded Shrewsbury School. He entered on the same day as Sir Philip Sidney, who was his intimate friend, both then and afterwards. For the sake of its quaintness, I copy the record of the two entries from the *Registrum Scholarium*. This is it:—

Philippus Sidney filius et
heres Henrici Sidney militis
de pensarst¹ in comit. Cantie
et domini presidis confinium
Cambriæ nec non serenissimi
ordinis garterii militis.

foulkus gryuell filius et heres
foulki gryvell armigeri de beachams
courte in comit. Warvici.

The two lads were probably the first of the long roll of brilliant scholars educated at the great school, afterwards so famous under the régime of Benjamin Hall Kennedy. They left school at the early age of

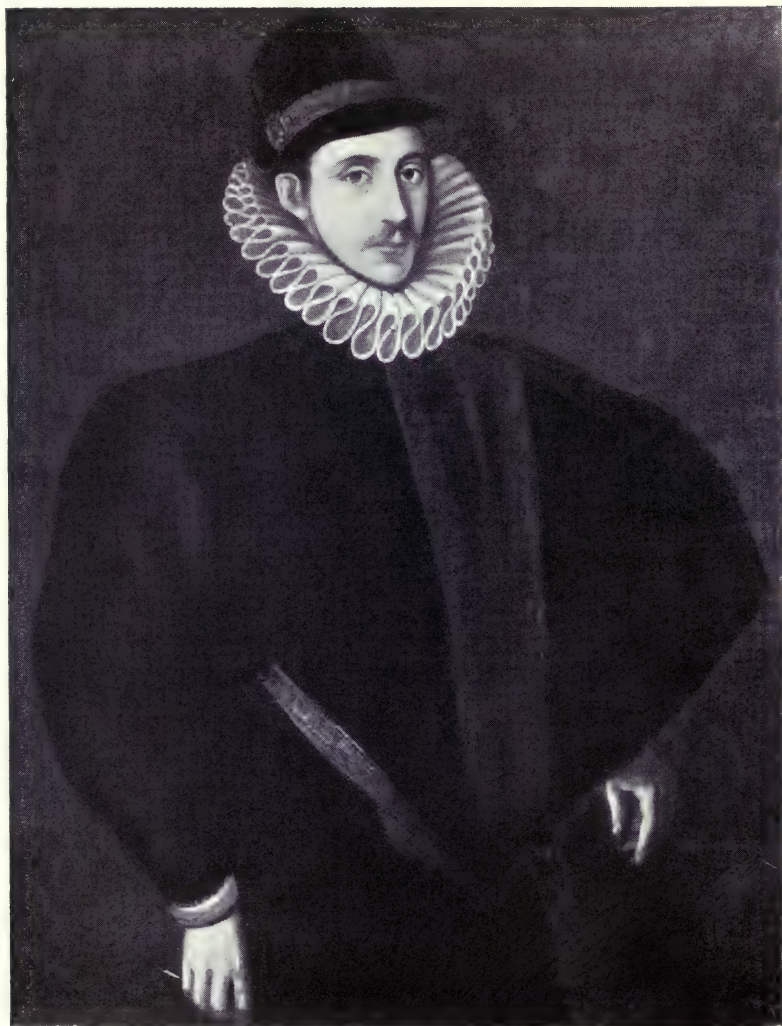
¹ That is, of Penshurst.

fourteen, and were temporarily separated, Sidney going to Oxford, and Greville to Jesus College, Cambridge. There is a letter from Bacon to a Fulke Greville on his going to the university, giving advice about his studies; but this was apparently addressed to our Fulke Greville's cousin, the father of the second Lord Brooke. The eminence of the writer, however, and the relationship of the recipient, justify a quotation from the recipient.

It appears that this Fulke Greville desired to find some one to assist him in the composition of a literary work, and sought the advice of the judicious Bacon as to how this could best be managed. Bacon replied that "he that shall out of his own reading gather for the use of another, must (as I think) do it by Epitome or Abridgment, or under Heads and Commonplaces. Epitomes also may be of two sorts; of any one art or part of knowledge out of many books, or of one book by itself."

But he proceeds to throw cold water on the plan, and to discourage this kind of collaboration.

"I doubt not," he writes, "but in the university you shall find choice of many excellent wits; and in things wherein they have waded, many of good understanding. But they that have the best eyes are not always the best lapidaries, and according to the proverb, the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men. A mere scholar, in state or military matters, will no more satisfy you than Phormio did Hannibal. Therefore to speak plainly of the gathering of heads



From the picture at Warwick Castle.

SIR FULKE GREVILLE, FIRST LORD BROOKE, THE FRIEND OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

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or commonplaces, I think first in general that one man's notes will little profit another, because one man's conceit doth so much differ from another's; and also because the bare note itself is nothing so much worth as the suggestion it gives the reader. Next I think no profit is gotten of his notes that is not judicious in that whereof he makes his notes.

“But you will say I exceed my commission; for instead of advice I do dehort. I do confess I would have you gather the chiefest things and out of the chiefest books yourself, and to use your other collectors in gathering arguments and examples to prove or illustrate any particular position or question. For they should like labourers bring stone, timber, mortar, and other necessities to your building. But you should put them together and be the master-workman yourself; and instruction is easilier given and will be better followed in one point than in many.”

This certainly is very sound advice, and I hope Fulke Greville followed it.

To return, to our own Sir Fulke Greville. He and Sidney kept up their intimacy; and when Greville left Cambridge, Sidney's father, Sir Henry Sidney, helped him by giving him a small appointment on the Welsh border, connected with the Court of Marches. He resigned it to come to Court, where he at once stepped into favour. The best account of his life and position there is given in Naunton's “*Fragmenta Regalia*.” The quotation that follows is taken from Mr. Arber's “*English Garner*”:—

➤ The House of Greville

“Sir Foulk Grevil, since Lord Brook, had no mean place in the Queen’s favour, neither did he hold it for short term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rub, of any of her Favourites. He came to the Court in his youth and prime, for that is the time, or never: He was a brave Gentleman, and honourably descended, from William Lord Brook, and Admiral to Henry the Seventh. Neither illiterate; for he was, as he would often professe, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his Poem, and of those times, which doe interest him in the Muses; and which shewes, the Queen’s election had ever a noble conduct, and its motions more of vertue and judgement, than of fancy.

“I find, that he neither sought for, nor obtained any great place or preferment in Court during all the time of his attendance, neither did he need it; for he came thither, backt with a plentifull Fortune, which as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and dyed a constant Courtier of the Ladies.”

The sunshine of the royal favour, however, was not so entirely unbroken as this passage might seem to imply. Queen Elizabeth was an exigent mistress who desired to monopolise her favourites. Fulke Greville had the desire for foreign travel which is natural to young men. And in that age, as we have already seen in the case of Leicester’s son, Robert Dudley, people who wanted to travel had to get leave.

to do so. Fulke Greville, therefore, more than once set out upon a journey without permission, and was frowned upon in consequence. Once, indeed, he was stopped at Dover when on the point of embarking for the Low Countries to see the war that was being waged there. He managed, however, to accompany Sidney to Heidelberg, where he was charged to deliver a friendly message from the Queen to the Princes Louis and John Casimir, and also to go with Sir Francis Walsingham to Flanders a few months later. But he was punished, being "forbidden the Queen's presence for many months."

Another journey of more interest was that which he made in 1579 with Sidney's friend and tutor, Languet, to Germany. On his way home, on this occasion, he was presented to the Prince of Orange. There is an account of the interview in his "Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney." I quote from it his description of that great Prince:—

"His uppermost garment was a gown, yet such as (I dare confidently affirm) a mean-born student in our Inns of Court would not have been well-pleased to walk the streets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter and form to the other. His waistcoat (which shewed itself under it) not unlike the best sort of those woollen knit ones which our ordinary watermen row us in. His company about him, the burgesses of that beer-brewing town: and he so fellow-like encompassed with them, as (had I not known his face) no exterior sign of degree or deservedness



From the picture at Warwick Castle.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

could have discovered the inequality of his worth or estate from that multitude. Notwithstanding I no sooner came to his presence, but it pleased him to take a knowledge of me: and even upon that (as if it had been a signal to make a change) his respect of a stranger instantly begat respect to himself in all about him: an outward passage of an inward greatness, which in a popular estate I thought worth the observing. Because there, no pedigree but worth could possibly make a man prince, and no prince, in a moment, at his own pleasure."

So Fulke Greville's youth passed. He was a man of fashion, to the fore in all fashionable diversions. Among other things, we find him, in 1581, together with Sidney, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Windsor, organising a pageant and tournament at Whitehall for the entertainment of the Queen and the ambassadors who came to discuss the project of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and he was one of the courtiers who attended the Duke as far as Antwerp.

He was also very much in the fashion in another important respect. The Court of Elizabeth was the most conspicuously literary Court that we have ever had in England. The Queen herself had a remarkable, if not always a just, literary taste. She rejoiced in poets and abominated fools; and the cult of the Muses was a ready passport, and sometimes even a necessary passport, to her regard. She encouraged the Italian literary influence, and dealt in that "euphuism" which one of Scott's novels has ridiculed so delight-

fully. "That beauty in Court which could not parley Euphuism," writes a courtier of the reign of Charles I., "was as little regarded as she that now speaks not French."

And though euphuism presently went out of fashion, literature did not. Whatever the statesmen might be doing, the courtiers were always busy with their pens. Everybody knows how charmingly Sir Philip Sidney wrote both prose and verse. The author of the "Faërie Queene" was another courtier-poet, though the only profit that his poetry brought him was an estate in Ireland. And in this goodly literary company Fulke Greville worthily held his own. He, Sidney, and Sir Edward Dyer formed a centre of literary influence at the Court. They were members of Gabriel Harvey's literary society called the Areopagus, and intended to introduce classical rules into English literature. Davison's "Poetical Rapsody," published in 1602, opens with "Two pastoralls made by Sir Philip Sidney upon his meeting with his two worthy friends and fellow-poets, Sir Edward Dier and Master Fulk Grevill." When Sir Philip Sidney died, trying to repair the Earl of Leicester's military blunders, on the field of Zutphen, Fulke Greville not only wrote his life, but lamented his death in elegiac verse. Finally, when that distinguished stranger Giordano Bruno came to London, Fulke Greville welcomed and entertained him; and it was at his house in London that the eminent Italian conducted many of the disputations recorded by him in "*La Cena de le Ceneri*."

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A pathetic letter to Archibald Douglas, included among the Marquis of Salisbury's MSS., refers to Fulke's sorrow at Sir Philip Sidney's death, and his literary tributes to his memory :—

“ 1586 [Oct.].—MY LORD,—I go no whither, therefore I beseech you pardon me that I visit you not. The only question I now study is whether weeping sorrow, or speaking sorrow, may most honour his memory, that I think death is sorry for. What he was to God, his friends and country, fame hath told, though his expectation went beyond her good. My Lord, give me leave to join with you in praising and lamenting him, the name of whose friendship carried me above my own worth, and I fear hath left me to play the ill poet in my own part. Well, my Lord, divide me not from him, but love his memory, and me in it. I shall not see your lordship so oft as I would do if you were yourself. It is enough I wish you honour and love you. From my lodge this night.

“Your lordship's friend,

“FOULK GREVILL.

“P.S.—I was but gone to take air in the park when it pleased you to call.”

Greville was one of the pall-bearers at Sidney's funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, and one of the legatees between whom his library was divided. After Sidney's death we find him beginning to take some part in public affairs. He had already arranged with Drake

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to join his expedition to the West Indies for the purpose of singeing the beard of the King of Spain ; but Elizabeth had sent the admiral peremptory orders to sail without him. A request that he might be allowed to go with Sidney to join Leicester's army in the Low Countries had also been refused. He was now, however, allowed to serve in Normandy under Henry of Navarre, though he was forbidden, in 1597, to take part in the Islands expedition by conveying provisions to the Azores ; and he was given employment in various other capacities. He was Secretary for the Principality of Wales. He sat in Parliament for Warwickshire in 1592-3, in 1601, and again in 1620. In March, 1597-8, he became Treasurer of the Wars, and in September, 1598, Treasurer of the Navy. There was even talk of making him rear-admiral when the second Spanish Armada was anticipated in 1599 ; and on February 8th, 1600-1, he took part in the arrest of the Earl of Essex.

We have glimpses of his life in various letters of the period. The following illustrates his reputation for gallantry, already mentioned in our quotations from Naunton :—

“ 25 Nov. 1588. . . . The Earl Bothwell shows me exceeding great courtesy for your sake, and hath offered me large kindness. I beseech you thank him for it. For Fulk Greville, my wife knows he hath offered her courtesy already, and will again, the rather if she seek him, but he is not for her credit. Yet let her do as she please, he will but deceive her, as he

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hath done others of her sex. He owes me 20*l.*, and therefore must show to favour my case, but he will not offend the Earl of Essex for a hundred such as I. It may be he will do my wife some pleasure. Let her take it. I never trusted him with a word of my mind or thought."

In the same year a communication from John Greenway to the Privy Council shows him at a loss how to deal with a mutiny:—

"The soldiers which have complained that six months' pay has been withheld from them by their officers, either cannot or will not make proof thereof, though oft required thereto by Mr. Fulke Greville, employed by her Majesty and your lordships for the full appeasing of all troubles here."

In 1590 he received "orders to take the view and musters of the horsemen and footmen in co. Warwick, and to put them in good array for the Queen's service"; and most of the original returns are included among the Warwick Papers. In 1594 and 1595 we find him in correspondence with Sir Robert Cecil. Here are three of his letters, taken from the Calendar of the Marquis of Salisbury's MSS.:—

"1594-5, Jan. 22.—I do humbly thank your Honour for the comfortable message you sent me, by my uncle Edward, that Torrington was not passed, because it argues your favour to me and care of your word, but I have, since my coming to this town, enquired with all the credit and wit I have, and am very con-

fidently informed that it did pass the Great Seal upon Saturday last, and it seems by immediate warrant and grace, for else your Honour must needs have had notice at the Privy Seal of it. Our hopes and fears are like dead together in it, and though my brother have been at very great charge, both with the suit, wife and pretty children, yet this resolution hath cut off one, which is the law ; for other help or comfort he must seek in heaven.—This Wednesday.”

“ 1594, Nov. 27.—At your being at Sudeley you gave me leave to pray your favour when I had occasion. I am called to answer a complaint exhibited against me to the Privy Council by Sir Thomas Leighton. The matters are such, if they were true, as touch my credit very near, but I thank God I am innocent, and if I have displeased him it is in doing my duty to her Majesty ; and because God hath visited me that I am not able to attend their lordships, I have answered in writing. Be a mean to your father (on whom I only rely to be protected in doing my service to her Majesty) that either I may have the cause speedily examined before their lordships, or by some, by them appointed, that may make report according to the truth. This much I entreat the rather that I hear Sir Thos. Leighton is going down into the country and would defer the matter till next term, until which time I would be very loth my credit should hang in suspense. I doubt not but my answer would manifest the matters so on

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both sides as there shall need no further trial.—
27 November, 1594.”

“1595, May 4.—I have, by grant from her Majesty, the keeping of the forest of Feckenham in Worcestershire, where the keepers have such slender wages and allowance as I have been driven for divers years past to augment the same out of mine own purse. Besides they have neither lands nor lodges, wherewith when I acquainted your father at Sudeley he marvelled much thereat. I am now a suitor to his Lordship for some amendment therein, as also that he will give warrant for the delivery of such fee wood as heretofore hath been always allowed to the keepers out of Her Majesty’s woods in Hambury within the said forest, while it remained in her Highness’s hands, the manor being now granted in fee farm to Sir Thomas Leighton, and all the woods excepted.—From Beauchamps lane, the 4th of May, 1595.

(Endorsed) “SIR FOULKE GREVILL to my master.”

Still more interesting are the letters which show us Sir Fulke Greville in pecuniary difficulties, in spite of the ample fortune with which he started life, and nearly driven to seek assistance from the pawnbrokers. This is his appeal to Master Hicks, afterwards Sir Michael:—

“S^r, the heavie burthen that is falne vppon me for the securing of my whole estate, make[s] me to

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intreate yo^r favour in this matter. I am to pay S^r Daud Fowles 500^l at a verie short day, and haue noe other meanes to raise so greate a sume but by layenge all my plate to gage. I do therefore verie hartilie pray yo^u to be a meanes to procure me such a some vppon a sufficient pawne of some good frend, whereby I may escape the rancor of the worlde, and leave my plate safe, eyther for three moneths or haulf a yeare. I will willingly geeve the vsuall consideracon, and take yt as a verie kynde favor at yo^r hands. And thus wth my very harty coⁿiendacons to yo^rself and Mrs. Hyckes I comit yo^u to God. ffrom Harrold's P^rke this xvth of July, 1603.

“Yo^r assured louinge frende,

“FFULKE GREVYLL.”

That this appeal met with quick and generous response seems clear from the letter that succeeds :—

“S^r, I thanck you verie hartilie for the paines you haue taken about this Monie : wherein I was more willinge to troble you, becawse I am verie loth to haue my name in question amongst them that practise in this kynde vppon the exchange. And if there bee noe remedie but wee must use their help, lett me I pray you be thus much more beholding unto you and your brother [in] law that my plate may remayne in your hands and custodie, and that betwixt you the lenders may haue such securitie as may content them wthout notice of mee, or passage of my plate

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through unknown hands in this infectious tyme. So readie to deserue this kyndness in anie thing I may, I leaue you wth my hartie comendations to God's protection. Deptford, 18th July, 1603.

“Your assured loving frend,

“FFULKE GREVILL.

“To my verie wor^{thie} frend,

“Mr. Michael Hicks, &c.”

There is no connected story to be constructed from any or from all of these letters; and much that it would be of interest to know concerning this portion of Fulke Greville's life must remain a matter of conjecture. Perhaps one may guess something from what one knows of the general line and tendency of the period.

It was a period of change—of change, as it seemed, for the worse. The great outburst of energy that characterised the Elizabethan age at first began to slacken. Neither at home nor abroad did the tide of prosperity continue to flow steadily. On the one hand, intrigue was on foot, and favourites fell, and the headsman's axe was busy. On the other hand, the Renaissance began to get the worst of it in its struggle with its old ally, the Reformation; and the Puritan temper that gained ground in the country jarred upon the cultured men of the old school. A gloom grew which is clearly reflected in our literature. Men had searchings of heart while they tried to take their new bearings and adjust themselves to their new environment.

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The change in the tone of Shakespeare's plays is the great illustration of this fact. Hamlet is the product of the age as well as of the dramatist. There is a personal note in the exclamation that "the times are out of joint." It is a lamentation for the calamities of friends at Court, and for the advent of new ideals with which the poet was born too late to sympathise. He had to struggle hard, and pour out his soul in several bitter tragedies, before he recovered the comparative serenity which distinguishes his latest work.

And what Shakespeare felt other men of his time and temper must have felt too, though they left no splendid records of the crises of their inner lives. Surviving the gay days, and remembering them, reminded of them by the loss of friends, and growing well into middle age without the consolation of any domestic ties, Fulke Greville, like many another inarticulate sufferer, must have felt a similar grief, not less acute because vague and difficult to define in words, at the passing of the glories, and a similar sense of the emptiness and futility of life. I take it, though he perhaps did not know it, that this was the inner reason why he abandoned the art of poetry, in which he was so well qualified to shine, and steadily devoted his talents to the public service.

We shall see him, in the next chapter, reaping the reward of his services. Queen Elizabeth, though she smiled on him, was a mistress who did but little for him. James I. was a master who did much.

CHAPTER III

The Accession of James I., and the Offices held by Sir Fulke Greville in his Reign—The King's Visit to Warwick Castle—The Murder of Fulke Greville—A Defence of his Character against Detractors.

THE spacious days of Queen Elizabeth were no doubt Fulke Greville's happy days. He was young, and the horizon of his hopes was wide. His talents were admired, and he was able to play the Mæcenæ. Speed, the annalist, thanked him for his release from "the daily employments of a manual trade"; Camden owed him gratitude for "extraordinary favours," including the office of Clarenceux, King of Arms; he obtained the Deanery of St. Paul's for Dr. John Overall, and the Secretaryship of the Navy for Sir John Coke; even Francis Bacon was indebted to him for seasonable words spoken in influential quarters.

But Court favours and political advancement did not always go together in that reign. The Queen had a head as well as a heart. She did not expect statesmen to be poets, or poets to be statesmen. The men of real influence with her in grave matters were Burghley and Walsingham rather than Leicester or Essex, or any of the tuneful choir. And the Cecils, for whatever reason, seem to have stood somewhat in Fulke Greville's way. For full success in life

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he had to wait for the reign of James I. ; and the days of his great prosperity were the days of his old age.

The King liked men of letters. Was he not himself a man of letters, the author of a counterblast against tobacco, and other notable works, and a benefactor of Sir Thomas Bodley's library? And,



THE GATE-HOUSE BRIDGE, WARWICK CASTLE.

though he was a bad King in many ways, he was a good King to his friends. We have seen how he served Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, making him money gifts, and putting him in the way of pleasant things in the way of embassies, and profitable things in the way of charges on the Customs. He also bestowed benefits upon Fulke Greville.

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On the King's accession Fulke Greville was made a Knight of the Bath. He was then Treasurer of the Navy, and continued in that office, a hard-working civil servant. Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, the chief obstacle to his ambition, died in 1612, and made advancement easier for him. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1614, and Commissioner of the Treasury in 1618. He sat on the Council of War in 1624, and on the Committee of the Council to advise on Foreign Affairs in 1625. Nor was that all. Elizabeth had made him Master of Wedgnoek Park in 1597. In 1605 James gave him the ruined Castle of Warwick, on which, says Dugdale, he "bestowed much cost, at least £20,000, beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture." To that subject we will return. The Manor and Park of Knowle were also granted to him; and he was, in January, 1620-1, created Baron Brooke—a title previously borne by his ancestors the Willoughbys—with remainder to his favourite kinsman, Robert Greville.

He had completed the embellishment of Warwick Castle, though he had not yet got his peerage, when the Castle and town were visited by James I. in the course of one of his royal progresses. It is unfortunate that there is nothing about the visit in the "Black Book." A local memorial of it, however, is preserved in the Leicester Hospital in the shape of a chair bearing the following inscription:—

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This CHAIR is pointed out to posterity as that wherein K. JAMES I. sat when entertained in one of the Halls of this House by Sir Fulke Greville, A.D. 1617.

And we have, too, the address of welcome to the King, spoken by Master Thomas Read, of Warwick. It has been printed before from the MS. which is still in the archives of Warwick Castle. I give the translation of the original Latin made by the Rev. H. Hill, Head-master of the King's School :—

“Oration to King James, when he visited Warwick on his return from Scotland, delivered by Master Thomas Read, Sep. 3rd, 1617.

“It is not a matter of doubt, August Prince, that they who have endured a night of six months' duration rejoice greatly on the return of the Sun. The Sun of your presence set to us in the Spring, it rises in the Autumn : England may boast that at length a King has been granted to her whose happy influence has a ready road, such as was never opened to the arms of the Romans, even into the farthest corners of Britain. Now the Queen of the Islands, at length blessed with you for her husband, nourishes in concord, and like brethren of one family, her children, who, till this time, were never wont to meet together save for battle. Through you Britain has received again her own nature, and she can now be truly called one who from the beginning has been always torn to pieces. Therefore do all the cities eagerly hurry forth from their gates to meet you on your way.

“ But our city embraces not so much its King as its Good Fortune coming to it. For our Revenue and its Government of Thirteen and all our privileges are from your bounty. In sum, whatever public institution we have is a pledge binding our gratitude to you. But that you may not seem to have expended your kindness upon the unworthy, hear (O most Serene King) our city speaking a few words for itself. ‘I am she who for 300 years entertained with the hospitality of these Rocks the Bellona of the Romans. From this place did the terrible eagles of so many legions threaten subject Britain. There was, there was a time when your Augusta Trinobantum herself [London] trembled at my name. Till the Romans were forced to retire from the world, I had no small power in the world. But I changed my master then, not my fortune; until at length, the Saxon having become tame, I received, instead of a military Lord, a Bishop, that I, who for 900 years had fought under Mars, might henceforth serve under the banner of Christ. Meanwhile, mindful of my renown, I brought forth heroes of uncommon fortitude, and more famous to my neighbourhood than was Hercules or Theseus to Athens. Of this let the witness be that Guy who, after he had filled Britain with the fame of his achievements, won for himself a way to heaven by penitence for his inordinate valour. The last and fatal storm burst on me from the Danes. Then my constancy was punished with destruction. What I must have been, judge by this, that in so great

tempests I did not utterly perish. If in Greece you ask for Argos, Mycenæ, or Lacedæmon, no traces of the names, much less of the cities, you will find.'

"You see (most serene King) the warlike boasting of our city. Our old age and weakness we are fain to console with the memory of past virtue and with words correspondent to our former fortune, and not inferior to these is the offering we present to you, our manifestation of good will, although in slender means. The Castle also, which now longs to receive you, of all Guests whom it has had the greatest, would utter not more humble words, did not its recent ignominy preclude loftiness of speech. Since it passed into the hands of a Gaoler, and changed the golden chain of its Nobles for the fetters of captives, and became a dwelling-place for night-prowling beasts, owls, and ominous birds, it blushes to speak before you. But he whom your unexhausted liberality has willed to be its Lord, whom the city has chosen for its Patron, and who of his own humanity is to me Lord and Patron, has testified by no slight expenditure and care, that nothing is to him more precious than your gift. Therefore, that the memory of your munificence might abide in the house for ever, he hath, in such manner as he could, restored it to its youth: if he could thus restore youth to himself, even to the length of Nestor's life, he would yet think it short in proportion to that eternal duty which is owed not so much to your Fortune as to your Virtue. However, he deems that, of the life yet remaining to

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him, the richest reward will be, if by love, by labour, by faith, he can attain to this end—that he may die yours.”

For the rest we know only that “on the 5th of September, before leaving Warwick, the King knighted Sir William Bowyer, of Staffordshire; Sir John Bodley, of Surrey; Sir William Cade, of Hertfordshire; Sir Francis Crane, Secretary to the Prince; Sir William Burlacy, of Bucks; Sir Humphrey Ferrers, of Warwickshire; Sir William Maxy, of Warwickshire”; and that “the Royal Traveller then proceeded to Compton Winyate, the seat of William, second Lord Compton, afterward Earl of Northampton.”

So much for the royal visit. It is deplorable that we have no picturesque information about it; but we have none. Even Nichols, in his “Progresses of James I.,” helps us no further than we have gone.

Another visitor to the Castle, of a date which I cannot exactly fix, has left an interesting record of his impressions. This is Bishop Corbet. Let us quote from his “*Iter Boreale*” :—

Please you walke out and see the castle? Come,
The owner saith, it is a scholler's home;
A place of strength and health: in the same fort,
You would conceive a castle and a court.
The orchards, gardens, rivers, and the aire,
Doe with the trenches, rampires, walls, compare:
It seemes nor art nor force can intercept it,
As if a lover built, a souldier kept it.
Up to the tower, though it be steepe and high,
We doe not climbe but walke; and though the eye

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Seeme to be weary, yet our feet are still
In the same posture cozen'd up the hill:
And thus the workman's art deceaves our sence,
Making those rounds of pleasure a defence.
As we descend, the lord of all this frame,
The honourable chancellour, towards us came.
Above the hill there blew a gentle breath,
Yet now we see a gentler gale beneath.
The phrase and wellcome of this knight did make
The seat more elegant; every word he spake
Was wine and musick, which he did expose
To us, if all our heart could censure those.
With him there was a prelate, by his place
Arch-deacon to the byshopp, by his face
A greater man; for that did counterfeit
Lord abbot of some convent standing yet,
A corpulent relique: marry and 't is sinne
Some Puritan gets not his face call'd in;
Amongst leane brethren it may scandall bring,
Who seeke for parity in every thing.
For us, let him enjoy all that God sends,
Plenty of flesh, of livings, and of friends.

This gives us a very pleasant picture of the state in which Fulke Greville delighted to live in his old age. One wonders whether he was the happier or the lonelier for having no Eve to dwell with him in his Paradise. That he was a great local magnate as well as a great public man is attested by the fact that he held the local office of Recorder of Stratford-on-Avon—to the guild of which town so many of his ancestors had been admitted—and that his name is of frequent occurrence in the records of the borough.

Of his political career there is not a great deal that need be said. On the whole he was a useful

supporter of the Government. One records with regret that he signed the warrant for the torture of Edward Peacham, a clergyman charged with writing a sermon derogatory to the royal authority ; and he was also a member of the Committee of the Council appointed to enquire into the conduct of Coke in the *præmunire* case. He had liberal tendencies, however ; and, without being an orator, he was a weighty, and perhaps a somewhat sententious, speaker. We have Bacon's evidence for that. "Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer," he says in one of his letters, "spake finely, somewhat after the manner of my late Lord Privy Seal ; not all out so sharply, but as elegantly."

In another letter we read :—

"Sir Fulke Grevill in Parliament, when the Lower House, in a great business of the Queen's, stood much upon precedents, said unto them ; 'Why should you stand so much upon precedents ? the times hereafter will be good or bad ; if good, precedents will do no harm ; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none.'"

Another speech is reported by Bacon at even greater length. I give the passage from Spedding's edition, for the sake not so much of the orator's eloquence as of his sound democratic views :—

"After whom spake Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was not long. He began with an excuse of delivering his opinion in matters of so great moment ; for that he had not been long acquainted with that table. He said he would rather move some questions than deliver his advice ; one question

was whether their L's would hold it fit that everything that was vulgarly complained of were of necessity to be amended. All impositions were not unlawful; nor all monopolies: in all ages and in all states some of both kinds have been done and held warrantable. Another question was whether their L's would not



AN ARQUEBUS.
In the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

think that many of those things which were moved for preparation were meet to be referred to Parliament and handled there. It was a pleasing thing and popular to ask a multitude's advice; besides, it argued trust, and trust begat trust; and such a mutual confidence might perhaps dispose their minds to a greater freedom towards the King. For other matters, as well of debts

Warwick Castle

as of expenses, he would not dissent from what had been spoken before, especially by the Lord Chief Justice."

After living to a good age—he was seventy-four—Fulke Greville met with a violent death. A servant named Haywood, who had been called in to witness his will, and found that his own name was not mentioned in it, drew his sword and attacked him. We may read the sequel in a letter from Lord Brudenell to the Earl of Westmoreland, found among the Rutland MSS. :—

"1628, October 2. Aldersgate Street. . . .

"*Postscript.*—My Lord Brooke dyed of corrupted fatt thrust into the wound of his belly in place of his kell, which putrifying, ended him, that fewer sorrowes then the D[uke], though not so many rejoyces. Some of his old inheritance fall to Sir Grivell Verney his nephew, but Warwik Castle his honnor and the greatest part of his estate to one Sir Fulk Grivell, his great uncle's grandchild, his office to Sir Grivell Verney's next brother and he himself descended as is conjectured."

This murder is the subject of a long disquisition in the "Biographia Britannica." The writer there suggests that "the knowledge of this murder or the most prevailing motive to it has been endeavoured to be concealed and secreted from the public and posterity." His reason for thinking so is that, in the first collected edition of Fulke Greville's works, there is no introductory memoir relating to the circumstances

❧ The House of Greville

of the tragedy, and that the copies of it that have passed through his hands "are all imperfect and deprived or mutilated of whatever introduction they had to them." And he infers that "as no author, who has wrote of this nobleman or his writings, has hitherto taken any notice of, or made any remarks upon this deficiency, we must, till we have some better light to guide or help us to account for it, follow such as occurs from the most rational probability, that there was some private discovery too expressly mentioned for the perusal of the public, therefore that his lordship's executors, relations, &c., obliged the publisher to castrate such prefatory discourses, and suppress the same."

Next comes a quotation from a MS. conveying some very severe reflections upon the manner in which Fulke Greville treated his dependants.

"A man's plentiful possessions and pompous titles," says this document, "may pass, in the eye of inexperience, for the capital attributes of a patron: but if his interest and inclinations are not proportionable, or his own generosity to support that character, he shall disable you by long suspense from finding it in another, and give you a sting at last, how desperately soever it may be returned, if you grow importunate to find the effects of that patronage in himself. Such disregardful treatment of superior attendants, has sometimes proved very fatal to men of dignity and fortune; whereof we have, besides what has been before exemplified, a pregnant proof in one of our

Warwick Castle ♣

nobility, Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, who was Under-Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and of the Privy-Council to King James and King Charles I. A man of breeding, learning and abilities; liberal enough of his power and interest among distant acquaintance, to the commodious accommodation of many learned and ingenious men, but too parcemonious thereof towards the daily attendants within his own walls; who by neglecting, as all authors term it, to gratify or make any suitable recompence to a gentleman who had withered away the greatest part of his life unprofitably in his personal service, and was soon likely to be destitute of all support, as his lordship had not himself, by the course of nature, long to live, and being severely reprimanded for reminding him thereof, or, not improbably, incensed with more violent provocations, he drew his sword upon his Lord, and killed him, then withdrawing into another room, with the same instrument destroyed himself. Yet authors have been so superficial and indifferent in their relation of this desperate murder, or have seemed in a manner, so to stifle and hush it up, that those who have most distinctly related the untimely end of this nobleman, by that attendant, have not dropped so much as a reflexion in compassion of the one, or abhorrence of the other. Upon the whole therefore, when we consider how easily persons foreign to the service of this nobleman, were by his interest handsomely provided for, and that no provision was likely to be

● The House of Greville

made for one who had so long and nearly served him ; we may from hence, as well as from the many other examples before recited, be instructed to believe, that all actions or expressions from a menial servant, or any in this domestic and stationary dependency, are regarded but as the water of a standing pool ; the owner, because he sees the surface every day, thinks he has also seen, and known, all that it contains, of what depth or capacity soever it be ; and esteems every drop flat, and insipid, that comes from it : But the services of any free extraneous person, how shallow soever, who does not lie under the constant eye and command of a master, is thought ever fresh and grateful, like the waters of a running stream. Hence it is that the most superficial, and ordinary service from an independent person, so frequently meets with great thanks and reward ; from a servant, with neither : for the greatest performances from such, are swallowed up, in the thankles, bottomles gulph of duty."

A similarly uncharitable view of Fulke Greville's actions and attributes is taken in a rhyming elegy—" Epitaph-Lines upon the Death of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke"—first printed in Huth's " Inedited Poetical Miscellanies," and reprinted by Dr. Grosart. I give the jingle :—

Reader, I'll be sworn upon a book,
Here lies Right ugly the Lord Brook,
Who, as I have a soul to save,
Did not deserve to have a grave !

Warwick Castle

For, would I might neuer go further,
He was accused of a horrible murther,
Because 'twas thought he began
To kill one Ralph Howard his man,
Which for my part, by God's lid,
I believe he never did.
Ill-natured he was, else let me never wag ;
For he was never known to lend his friend a nag ;
And 'twould make a man very sick
To think how ill he rewarded his music.
So costive he was, and wary in thrift,
He would not help his friend at a dead lift ;
Nay, there be huge company think
He wrote down few legacies for saving of ink.
He called his executor ragamuffin
For being [so] expensive to buy a new coffin :
For I pray, quoth he, to what intent ?
Should the worms be well housed that never pay rent ?
And by this light, same light that shines,
He thought it simple to pay tithes to divines ;
And when he was to depart, he disputed at large
Whether his soul might travel without charge :
And just as his soul was about to be gone,
'Cause corn was dear, he ate brown bread at the communion.
To save faggots in winter, by Dragon and Bell,
Most are of opinion he went to Hell.
Well would I might never stir out of this room,
He'll be very melancholy at the day of doom.

Such was the voice of Fulke Greville's enemies. So far as the case of the servant Haywood is concerned, we have no direct evidence to enable us to decide whether he was, or was not, treated ungenerously. Perhaps, however, common sense may guide us to a safe decision. Shall we put it that the man who commits a murder because his name has been left

out of a will is *ipso facto* proved to be a man unworthy of testamentary benefits? I do not think we can go far wrong in doing so.

As to the more general allegations against Fulke Greville's character, these, I think, can be adequately met by citing the testimony of his friends. These friends were nearly all men of mark, and they nearly all speak of him, not with perfunctory praise, but with enthusiasm, acknowledging useful service rendered to them. He helped Bacon when Bacon needed help, and continued to be his friend after his disgrace. It appears, from one of the letters printed by Mr. Spedding, that he complimented him on his History of Henry VII., on which the King had invited his opinion before permitting it to be printed:—

“Mr. Murray tells me, the King hath given your book to my Lord Brooke, and enjoined him to read it, commending it much to him: and then my Lord Brooke is to return it to your Lordship; and so it may go to the press when your Lordship please, with such amendments as the King hath made, which I have seen, and are very few, and those rather words, as *epidemic*, and *mild* instead of *debonnaire*, etc. Only that, of persons attainted, enabled to serve in Parliament by a bare reversal of their attainder without issuing any new writs, the King by all means will have left out. I met with my Lord Brooke, and told him that Mr. Murray had directed me to wait upon him for the book when he had done with it.

He desired to be spared this week, as being to him a week of much business, and the next week I should have it: and he ended in a compliment that care should be taken by all means for good ink and paper to print it in; for that the book deserved it."

Fulke Greville also defended Bacon eloquently when Attorney-General Sir Henry Yelverton submitted to the Privy Council an information against one Maynham for libellously defaming him; and others of his friends acknowledge great indebtedness to him. Samuel Daniel, the poet, wrote that Greville

Did first draw forth from close obscuritie
My unpresuming verse into the light,
And grac'd the same, and made me known thereby.

And it was to him that Daniel dedicated his "Musophilus." Another poet addressed the following sonnet to him:—

TO THE VERTUOUS GENTLEMAN FULKE GREUILL ESQUIRE.

Who can of learning treat, and you forget?
Who may of vertue talke, and you neglect?
Who would true fame from your due praises let?
Who should not—knowing you—your love affect?
I therefore forced am in this respect,
To offer publikely for you, to reed
The thing the which vncran'd you would protect,
If—by malignor's blame—it stood in need:
In diuerse, diuersely this worke will breed,
I know, an humor in the censurer's braine;
The wisest, on the best contents will feed;
The curious—for some scapes—count all but vaine:
But of the better sort true prayse must grow;
The prayse of some as meere disprayse I know.

➤ The House of Greville

Camden, for whom he procured the office of Clarenceux, King of Arms, was not less eloquent in prose. This is how he writes in his "Britannia" under Warwickshire :—

"This Sir Fulke Grevil doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real vertue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far excels that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them."

Let us go with the enthusiasts, who are the majority, though not considering ourselves bound to follow them into every extravagance of eulogy. Our conclusions will then be favourable without being fulsome. In politics Sir Fulke Greville never attained to actual greatness; but he was too much the man of affairs to attain that success as a poet which would have been possible to his talents, untrammelled by other interests. It might be going too far to speak of him as a poet among statesmen and a statesman among poets; but his position, in both departments of life, is somewhat that of the dilettante or amateur. The modern names that occur to one for purposes of historical parallel are those of "Owen Meredith" and Milner Gibson.

Beyond all this, however, he must remain memorable as one of the first of those, in England at all events, who have recognised the bond of the brotherhood of letters, without regard to social distinctions.

The proof of this has been given, and need not be repeated. Whatever his faults, Sir Fulke Greville was a good patron of letters—a patron who, unlike some patrons, was consistently beloved by those whom he benefited. In view of that fact, we may listen unmoved to the malicious gossip of his enemies.

Few of Fulke Greville's poems were published during his lifetime. That may be the reason why readers of poetry have tended to neglect him. This is the well-considered verdict on them of the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography":—

"Brooke writes in his discursive memoir of Sidney with reference to his tragedies: 'For my own part I found my creeping genius more fixed upon the images of life than the images of wit.' This is a just criticism of all Brooke's literary work. To 'elegancy of style' or 'smoothness of verse' he rarely aspires. He is essentially a philosopher, cultivating 'a close, mysterious, and sententious way of writing' which is commonly more suitable to prose than poetry. His subjects are for the most part incapable of imaginative treatment. In his collection of love poems, which, though written in varied metres, he entitles sonnets, he seeks to express passionate love, and often with good lyrical effect; but the understanding seems as a rule to tyrannise over emotion, and all is 'frozen and made rigid with intellect.' Sidney's influence is very perceptible, and some of Brooke's stanzas harshly echo passages from 'Astrophel' and 'Stella.' His two tragedies, 'Alaham' and

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'Mustapha,' very strictly fashioned on classical models, are, as Lamb says, political treatises rather than plays. 'Passion, character, and interest of the highest order' are 'subservient to the expression of state dogmas and mysteries.' 'Mustapha' found an ardent champion in Edmund Bolton, who wrote of it as the 'matchless Mustapha' in his 'Hypercritica' (1622). In his 'Life of Sidney' Brooke expounds at length his object in writing tragedies, and explains that they were not intended for the stage. But, despite its subtlety of expression, Greville's poetry fascinates the thoughtful student of literature. His views of politics are original and interesting, and there is something at once formidable and inviting in the attempt to unravel his tangled skeins of argument."

He was buried, on October 27th, 1628, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick. His epitaph, composed by himself, ran: "Fulke Greville, servant to Queen Elizabeth, councillor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney. *Trophæum Peccati*." ¹

¹ Dr. Grosart writes: "The meaning of '*trophæum peccati*' has been thought obscure. Julius Lloyd, M.A., in his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, interprets it as meaning 'an honourable friendship is a trophy which holds up one's faults to reproof'; and he recalls '*In Memoriam*':—

'All these have been, and thee mine eyes
Have look'd on: if they look'd in vain,
My shame is greater who remain,
Nor let thy wisdom make me wise.'"

CHAPTER IV

Warwick Papers—Letters to Sir Fulke Greville on Various Subjects.

IT is in connection with Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke, that we begin to be able to draw to some extent for our material from the archives of Warwick Castle.

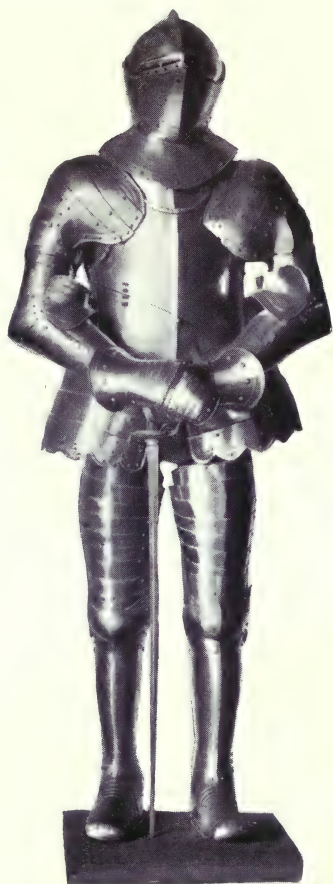
It is a pity that such papers as we have do not bear very much upon his personal and intimate life. Our good fortune would, indeed, have been great if we had been able to solve from them the secret of his obstinate celibacy. Our papers, however, are documents of more historical than private interest; and readers who care only for light reading may be earnestly enjoined to skip them. But it would be a dereliction of duty to omit them for the fear of being dull. Let me shake the dust off them, and send them boldly to the printer. Students may be glad of them, even if the subscribers to the circulating libraries are not.

The first letter that I give is from Sir Isaac Wake at Turin. Turin, be it remembered, was in those days the capital of Savoy, and a convenient centre for the observation of the European storm-clouds. The time was when Europe was on the verge of the Thirty Years' War, and the Spaniards were about

to march into the Palatinate. James I.'s son-in-law, Frederick, was Elector Palatine, and was, in the year of this letter, chosen King of Bohemia, in opposition to the Archduke Ferdinand, who was already legally in possession of that crown. With this preface I leave the letter to speak for itself:—

“RIGHT-HONORABLE,

“The place, that your H^r doth hold, in his Ma^{ties} service, doth not permit me, to divert you often from your serious occupations, and the particular duty, wherein I stand bound unto you, for your honorable favours, doth inforce me to trouble you sometimes, with a thankefull acknowledgment of what I have already received, and an humble request, to be continued still in the honor of your good opinion, from which I will never fall, by faintness in your service. If your H^r will suffer your-selfe to be entertained at any time, with the occurences of these parts, I shall be ambitious to serve you



A SUIT OF PLATE ARMOUR.
In the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

therein as occasions shall present themselves, and I have made bold at this present, to send you a tast of this poor commodity, that you may command, or forbid the sending you more, as it shall stand best with your owne liking.

“ I will begin at this present, as far as Naples, where the misterious proceeding of the Duke of Ossuna hath given occasion unto some to discourge, as if he intended to put of [*sic*] the vice and make himselfe king of that Country ; and you cannot imagine how far, this frantique conceit hath found credit, even among wise men, who will needes have us believe, that the King of Spaine, fearing such a practise, hath sent Philibert, Prince of Savoy, with a potent fleete expressely to dispossese the Duke of Ossuna of that governement and to invest therein Don Odoardo di Braganza. But the Venetians are so far from making this an Article of their faith, that they doe suspect this rumor to be published by the Spanyards, expressely to coulour the comming of Prince of Philibert into the streights, with so many Gallyes, and that when he shal be arrived at Naples both those Armades will joyne together, and seeke to affront them in the Gulphe. This suspition of theirs doth argur in them more feare than judgment, and timorous men must be excused, if sometimes they do wander in their apprehensions, beyond the bonds of reason. For it is very unlikely, that the King of Spayne would employ the sonne of this Duke in any enterprise against those, who are so nearly allyed unto his father in a strict bond of con-

federation ; or that Prince Phillibert could be persuaded to dishumanise so far, as to pierce the hart of his owne father, through the side of the Venetians, whose fall must by necessary consequence draw with it the ruine of the house of Savoy : Besides in so odious a designe, it is likely the Spanyards would serve themselves rather of the Duke of Ossuna then of any other, that in case the attempt should not take effect as they cannot promise themselves any assurance considering that *les armes sont journallieres* [?] they might discharge themselves upon the Duke of Ossuna's vanity, whose actions the King of Spayne hath hitherto been so far from answering that he hath been contented to suffer his taking the Venetian Garter di Mercantia and another ship called Naur Rossi to be stiled paratical robberyes, without excepting against the Venetians for using the phrase in their complaints exhibited against Ossuna, unto the King of Spayne. This verbal injurie did not in the opinion of the worlde revenge sufficiently the real affront they had received, whereupon they have lately seized upon foure or five small vessels, which passed through the Gulphe, laden with Corne, imagining thereby both to have confirmed their jurisdiction in the Gulphe and to have righted themselves in part against the Spanyards, from whose shoare in Calabria those ships did come. But when they will be pleased to summe up the reckoning, it will be found that they pay deare for that corne : For whereas they have been suitors in Spayne a long time for the restitution of their merchants goods taken

in the Gallies and ship afour specified and had procured lately very express order to the Viceroy of Naples to deliver backe that price without further delay ; Now upon the taking of these poore vessells by the Venetians he hath not only presūed to disobey the execution of his Mas^{es} will, but (to put the Venetians out of all hope of ever having their subjects goods restored) he hath imbezzled the whole remainder of the freight of those ships, and to despight them the more hath made Scarlets and such other merchandable commodities to be sold in Naples at the publike Imeanto. It is true that in Rome the Cardinal Borghia doth excuse this act of the Duke of Ossuna, by accusing him of folly and madness, and he promiseth the Venetian Amb^r residing in Rome that if his Masters will renewe the suite to the King of Spayne, they shall have satisfaction given them, for as much as hath been taken from their subjects. But on the other side, the world doth take notice of some formal discourses, which are lately published, wherein is remonstrated unto the King of Spaine that the residence of the Duke of Ossuna is most necessary in Naples, to keepe the Venetians in awe, and that the service of the crowne of Spayne doth require that the question of jurisdiction in the Adriatique sea, should be decided at this present by force of arms.

“I have in my hands a manuscript discourse, written by a Spanish Friar, upon the apparition of the last Commet and addressed unto the King of

Spayne in the forme of a letter, wherein the astrologer doth assurantly affirme, that a famous Republique, whose metropolitan citty seated in the sea, had the first foundation laid in Riualto, such a yeare, day and houre, shall in the yeare 1619 fall under the subjection of the King of Spayne. Perhaps the Duke of Ossuna hath caused this prediction to be written and divulged, especially to intimidate the Venetians, but I rather thinke the Friars pen did run over with Madera or that some melancholy humor had gotten the possession of his brayne; for he doth not confine the Spanish conquest to Venice or Italy alone, but hath made bold, without asking his Ma^{ter} any leave, to bestowe upon the King of Spayne, the two crowns of England and Ireland, and to invest him in an universal monarchie, greater than any hath yet been in the worlde: If we or the Venetians should chance to excommunicate this Friar for raving, I doubt he would hardly get absolution in Rome, considering, that he hath confidently prophecied in this exstaticall discourse, the death of Paulus V in this yeare.

“ Since I have been brought to Rome, before I was aware, by this frantique Friar, before I leave that place I will tell your H^r, that of late there did begin to rise a difference of some important consideration, betwixt the families of the Borghesi and Ursini, which may likely to have drawne all the nobility of Rome into a formal decision; the ground of that difference was this: the yong Prince of Sulmona, having taken a liking unto the Lady Camilla Ursini, did honorably

require her in mariage of her friends, and received (as he doth pretend) a promise of being gratified in his suite by those who had the power to bestowe her. But two of her yonger brothers, misliking the motion, for the disparity of blood, persuaded the yong lady to avoide that mariage, by entering into a Monastery, and taking the habit of a Nunne: The whole family of the Borghesi accounting themselves affronted with this proceeding, did so fare incense the Pope against the Ursini, that he did cite them to appeare before him in Rome, within the space of 24 days, upon paine of having their Feuda and Seignuries confiscated, in case they should fayle to present themselves: These gents were absent, the one in Venice and the other in Vienna, when this monitory was published against them, and in their absence, those who wish well unto the family, did first employ themselves to get a prorogation of the time of their appearance, as well knowing that *chi ha tempo, ha vita*, and that the Pope, though he be violent at the first, yet in time he doth relent much of his fierceness; when this was granted the friend of the Ursini, finding that there was no standing out with the Borghesi, during the raigne of the Pope, did retire into a treaty of reconciliation, and finally by the mediation of the Duke of Florence and of the French and the Venetian Amb^{rs} the Ursini are repatriated again, with the good liking of the Pope, upon promise of giving their sister to the Prince of Sulmona, who hath, and wil have an estate able in some sort, to match y^e

advantage of his great birth. Before I returne home I must let your H. know, that our neighbours, the Grysons, are in a very ill case by reason of their civil dissentions, and partialities, which are very diligently and with no small expence maintained among them by some brovilions whom I will not name. The French Ministers doe pretend zeale in their abetting the Catholique party, and the Venetians doe abett the contrary side, not for religion, but to maintayne the liberty of those people, which is like to be lost; and it is much to be doubted, that when this intestine flavour shall have throughly weakened the body of that state, the Spanyards will decide the controversy betwixt the French and the Venetians, and seize themselves of that country *par droit de bien seance* when they shall find those poore people unable to make any resistance. At this present the good Patriot, who caused the last reformation to be made and banished the traitorous Plante, have the worse end of the staffe, which is a evident signe, that the French crownes do weigh heavier than



PRINCE RUPERT'S
TRUMPET.
*From the Armoury of
Warwick Castle.*

the Venetian Zechini, and it is certaine that if they bee not speedily and potently relieved, the tables will be turned in that country, and the Reformers will be proclaimed and proscribed as Traitors by those whom they had banished for betraying the liberty of their country. The Valesani are in danger likewise of drincking the same bitter cup of division, which Mons: Micron, the French Amb^r residing at Solure, hath been brewing for a good while, and when that fire shall be well kindled, then we must expect to see Zurich, and Berne called to an account, for having refused, to submit themselves to the commandements of such, as had no authority over a free people, as they are. Here they thinke of nothing at this present, but upon providing to receive, the Prince of Piedmont and his Princess, with feasts, triumphs, tournays, triumphal arches, and all externall demonstrations of joye, that the wits of these Ports can invent, and that her passage over Mount-Senis may not seem tedious, they are building a banquetting house upon the highest top of that hill and providing to make a Naumachia in the lake, the pleasure whereof may beguile the time and divert their eyes from observing the horror of those craggy rockes and dangerous precipices. Halfe Turin is almost pulled down upon the sodaine that the streets may be made more faire, large and uniforme, so that now a Mason and a Carpenter are as much in request as heretofore a Coronet and a Captaine; and I may truly say that our Swords are turned into Spades and our Speares

into Mattockes, yet for all this our publique and open exercising *artes pacis*; without once thinking of future warre, our Neighbors of Mont-Serrat have lately taken a very great alarme at our proceedings here, and have not only fortified, as well as they were able, all their townes confining with this state, but furnished Alba and their best places with men and ammunition, and abandoned San Damian and other indefensible townes, as if Hannibal were *ad portas*: The reason of this pannique terror I find no other than that like dogs who have heretofore been well scalded with hot water, they seem now to be afrayde of a drop of raine, for all the feare hath no other ground. Then uppon a general muster, which the Duke of Savoy did summon of all his horse and foote on this side the mountains, not with any intent to make any innovation, but only to reinforce his ordinary garrisons of Vercelli, Astoi and Chirasio; which were much weakened by the death of many of the presidiaries and the secret retreat of diverse to their houses, without leave. This muster was appointed to be held uppon the 25th of July, being S^t James' Day, and Savigliano was appointed for the place of the general Rendez-vous, wherein I must confess there was a little mistery, for the Banditi being grown very strong and numerous on the confines of this state that way, and having committed very great and enormous excesses, under the countenance of some factious spirits in Mondovi, who did protect them by force against y^e justice, the Duke of Savoy

did intend under the coulour of this muster, to intrappe some of those Assassini, and to put into Mondovi so strong a garrison, as might keepe those people in awe from abetting any more the Banditti in those parts, and his purpose was with the exemplary punishment of some fewe of the principall delinquents to range all the rest of that faction unto reason. But the wiser sort of those of Mondovi, foreseeing the storme that was like to fall uppon their whole body, for the folly and impertinency of some few ill livers, have dispatched hither the Bishop of that citty, with commission to cast himselfe at the feete of this Duke, and to offer in the name of that communalty all humble submission to his will and pleasure, uppon which humiliation of theirs, the anger and indignation of the Duke hath been appeased in part, and uppon their promise of suffering the justice hereafter to have his free course, and of conforming themselves unto the lawes of the country, and accepting such taxes as are imposed uppon the othere townes and cittys of this state, he hath suspended that muster for a time, and sent all the Cavallerie and Infanterie unto their severall quarters. Those of Milan had taken the alarme, so hotly, uppon the news of this muster, that the Duke of Feria sent hither Sig. Scaramuzza Visconti in great diligence to informe himselfe of the intentions of the Duke of Savoy, but he is now very well satisfied with the good accueil that was given to his Amb^r here, and having understood that the purpose of this Duke was only to exterpate the Banditi, he hath promised to

☛ The House of Greville

assist him therein and to take order that they shall not have any safe retreat in any place of the state of Milan.

“So craving pardon for the tediousness of this discourse I desire to rest

“Y H^r

“Most faithfully to command

“ISAAC WAKE.

“Turin y^e 25th July } 1619.”
“4 August }

Another letter on a subject of much interest belongs to the year 1623. This was the year, it will be remembered, when Prince Charles and Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, were at Madrid, trying to arrange a treaty whereby the Prince should marry the Spanish Infanta, and receive back the Palatinate as a wedding present. The scheme fell through, partly because the Infanta did not want to marry a heretic, and partly because the match was displeasing to the English people. But the Prince, on his part, was very much in love; and at the date of the letter everything promised happily:—

“RIGHT HONORABLE,

“I have instantly received yo^r Lre and acquainted his Mat^{ie} therewth. And no^t onely for yo^r being att Rochester, but for yo^r power and knowledge To give order in things of this nature, his Mat^{ie} finds it good to reco^mend to yo^r Lp. the care of diversifieing and transposing the ships and goods upon this change of Counsell, as they must be ordered, The intendment and directions being thus That the great horses Tilting preparacōns and attendants on them are

Warwick Castle ♡

to be stayed: The shipp wth the Huckines, wth the Trimings, attendants and apptenances to them must go on the journey, and be soe fitted as they may goe in the convoy of S^r Francis Stuart's shipp, who is not now to attend the pavilion, or touch att Portsmouth, But by yo^r Lp. to be cleared and hasted awaie wth all possible speed. There are likewise apparell and other furniture and servants of my lo. Kensingtons and S^r George Goring. Yo^r Lp. may be pleased likewise to give order that they may goe in the Shipp with the Naggs. Notwithstanding the haste, or how many other ways yo^u may secure else have it, my duety bidds mee tell yo^u The Prince and my Lo. of Buckingham (thanks be to God) are in health and the rest of o^r Court here. The Prince hath spoken wth his Mistresse, his Love infinitely multiplied towards her. The heart and affection of that King, his Grandees and the people inflamed by his virtues and no declaration of it left undiscovered: The dispensation hourly expected And the time sett for their co^ming hither Midsomer. The fleet must be hastened and his Ma^{tie} requires you to doe him an acceptable srvice by giving and advising all expedition in that worke. I have wrote soe long that I have wearied my selfe and (I feare) yo^u. Yett I pray yo^u vouchsafe to receive this cheerfull offer of my affection to serve yo^u as I am and am bound to be

“Yo^r Lopps

“Loving Cousen att y^r Co^mandement

“EDW. CONWAY.

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"I understand from Sir Henrie Fane that he hath sent money to Capt. Wilbraham to defray those that are appointed to goe for Spaine wth the pacing Naggs, to whom y^r Lp. may be pleased to give order for the Srvaunts and Trunkes of my Lo. Kensington and Sir Geo. Goring. And if there be any money to be disbursed by them I wilbe answerable for it to the end there may be no default.

"Windsor 20 Aprill 1623."

(Warwick Papers, 2696.)

[No cover.]

Another letter which may be printed here—though I am not quite clear how it came into the Warwick archives—is one from Lewis to Lord Conway, written in 1626. It throws light upon the intrigues which led up to the ridiculous expedition to the Île de Rhé:—

"Lewis to the Lo: Conway April 22 1626.

"The Duke de Chevreux did specially advise M^r Lewis to write into Englande, that Mons^r Bleinville doth interprett his late satisfaceon, and reparacōn of hono^r in England soe much to his owne advantage as to make them a meanes of continuinge his Employ^m^t as if those honers had ben done to his p^{er}son, not to his qualitie, and to him, not to his maister: and upon thei^s grounds hee doth wth importunitie sollicite the french kinge, and his ministers to continue his employment or at least to retard his revocacon assuring them

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that hee is in power, and upon point of doinge his maister some necessarie and remarkable services. And the D. de Chevreux gives assurance that the Ambassado^r indeavors his stay in England wth much passion, on purpose to continue his ill offices to the state, and particularly against the Duke of Buckingham and to sacrifice to his owne vengeance w^{ch} may be p^sarved the rather because it appeares by a L^re written from England, that the Catholickes there are very much affected at the newes of the departure of Mons^r Bleinville whoe had served them wth soe much zeale and affecc^on: and yet they hoped hee might have continued. Mr. Lewis by the D. de Cheureux advise moved the Cardinal and the Schomberg towchinge Bleinvilles returne, and both of them assured him that the revocac^on is absolut and that his returne shall be hasted. The payment of the freight of the marchants' shipps promised upon their returne is delayed by Mareillac Superintendant of the finances untill Burlamachies arryvall in Paris. The main Leveé is not executed upon p^tence that litle to the French in England and that a late stay is made if a French shipp come from Spaine. Yet the Chancellor hath written L^res to the Kings Comissary gone of purpose to Rouen to hasten him (as faith) to execut^on.

“The Kinge is as slowe in retreatinge the army navall from before Rochell or the Souldiers from the fort, as hee is industrious in buildinge the 3 Forts in the Island of Rhe (whereof one is sayd to bee as bigg

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as Blois) contrarie to the faith given to his Ma^{tie} Ambassador^s.

“ The parliament of Tolouze used soe much ꝑcipitacōn wth that gentleman of Mons^r de Rohan who had ben sent by him only in ceremonie to giue the Kinge of Spaine thanks for offers as they condemned him on Easter Day, executed him the day followinge, and deferred the verrifying of the peace till the day after his execucōn. Madame de Rohan is at Fountainbleau where shee hath obtayned the Lycencing of the Troopes in Languedoc and for that ꝑcipitateis sentence of Toulouse shee contents herselfe wth the diversion of further ꝑceedings against her Husband who was the marke the spleene of that Parliament reached at.

“ The extraordinarie Ambassador from the States is gone home havinge concluded nothinge. Only the Treaty of Compeigne w^{ch} was for 3 yeares is continued for 6. But the condicons desired by the French are such, viz^t to assist the K. wth 20 shippes in all his necessities etc. as hee would resolve nothinge about [?] further order from the States.

“ There hath been strict search and inquisition made in Castres after the papers of some of the D. of Rohans servants: and the D. Deputies at Paris is told that some of his spies written in character are taken.

“ Some Catholick propositions have been made by ꝑticular ꝑsons to the French Kinge to nourish distaste betweene the twoe Crownes, and they

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the p̄sent greevous oppression of the Catholicks in England: their considerable number: The discord between the Parlament, and his Ma^{tie} and the D. of Buck and the Parlament, that the House of Rohan hath an assured retrait and the Rochellors as sure a proteccon in his Ma^{tie} favour, That the last assistance from France to the K. of Spaines purposes in the necessities, disadvantages, divisions and feares England is in at this time would easily be . . . the distresses of the Catholicks, and . . . iniuries. The D. de Cheureux assures that such pernicious ouvertures have been made, and though the authors bee not known, yet is it to bee p̄sumed that a Jesuit is at one end Villeau Cleves at the other, and Blienville at both.

“ Upon assurance from the Secretarie that the King had accorded 18^m livres to the K. of Bohemia Mr. Lewis rep̄sented the debts to Mons^r Mareillac and desired a cleere assignatōn who promised to speake wth the Kinge this weeke, and then to despatch. But for the 25^m livres due to the K. of Bohemia’s mother they will neither give hope nor promise for it.

“ Mr. Lewis desires to have an authenically relacōn sent unto him of what hath ben done in England in the point of restitutōn of French goods, to meete wth and oppose the partiall reports of particular men. But there can bee noe other issue hoped for of the main Levée, but that they should render in the same measure as they shall bee informed restitutōn is made to the French in England: and men shall not be ever to have the release of seizures absolute, while

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there can bee a frenchman found coveteous or litigious enough to clayme any more. For while the ministers governe themselves by the reports of their owne marchants, and that there are such querulous and litigious particulars engaged in the business as will receive noe satisfaccõn, there can bee noe end expected soe long as they will clayme and wee render.

“Mons^r the Kings Brother was on Tuesday last admitted to the Councell, to divert him (they say) from debauche and acquaint him wth affaires. The . . . hath a breefe of suspencõn against the Bp. of Chartres for that Sentence of the Clergie w^{ch} hee . . . Yet makes hee noe haste to execute the suspension but searcheth all wayes of accomodatinge that quarrell.

“Hee sends a confirmacõn of the Sentence of the Sorbonne by the whole Boddie of the Universitie in censure of the pernicious doctrine of Sanct Troilus the Jesuit Gondomer to bee established in Flanders.”

(Warwick Papers, 2698.)¹

And here we may, for the present, leave our archives. The chapter containing them has, I fear, seemed dull to the majority of readers; but that cannot be helped. Important papers have for the first time seen the light in it.

¹ The MS. of the above is a copy, not the original letter, and is stained with damp and in places torn.

CHAPTER V

The Restoration of Warwick Castle by Sir Fulke Greville—Architectural Details—The Main Building—The Chapel—The Gilded Dining-Room—The Armoury Passage—Other Buildings.

ANOTHER subject connected with Sir Fulke Greville on which it is necessary to animadvert is his restoration of Warwick Castle.

This chapter, too, I fear, is destined to be dull, except for those who desire to know the facts. It will consist of a careful description of the Castle, drawn up for me by a technical expert, to whom I express my gratitude. It does not as a rule attempt to distinguish between the embellishments made by Sir Fulke Greville and those introduced by his successors. To do that would be to dwell excessively upon points of minor interest. I feel sure, however, that many readers of this book, and especially such readers as may hereafter avail themselves of the opportunities offered of going over the Castle, will be glad to have an account of it more complete and accurate than they are likely to discover in their guide-books, excellent though many of these are.

The Saxon Castle, the Norman Castle, and the Edwardian Castle have already been separately described. It may be necessary here and there to refer back to these descriptions, but in the main they are

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assumed. What follows relates to the Castle as it now stands.¹ We begin with

THE MAIN BUILDING.

This consists of an ancient undercroft, and on the river side a good deal of original walling: on the court side it was largely added to and rebuilt by Sir Fulke Greville.

At the western end there are seven bays of various projections, rising to three stories, and lighted by rectangular windows, with transomed mullions and cusped headings of the early seventeenth century, all surmounted by a battlement with plain merlons. The sixth and seventh bays form a tower of five stories, the westernmost of the two having three angles and an entrance at the basement. The other is also of the same number of angles, but has plain window-openings. These bays seem entirely the work of Sir Fulke.

The succeeding two bays have in the basement two blocked arches of wide span, rising from a central hexagonal column and half-hexagonal piers—the original main entrance to the basement. The windows, of which there are two tiers, are transomed, and have cusped heads: the lower light the long corridor. Part of this wall is at least as old as the fifteenth century.

On the interior at this point there is a pointed

¹ "Warwick, so remarkable on many accounts, is especially so for the skilful manner in which it has been made suitable for modern habitation without materially obscuring its ancient parts" (Clark, "Med. Mil. Arch.," p. 7).

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door to the left of two orders (the door once opened inwards, *i.e.* towards the house); while there are two entrances, the one east and the more important, the other west of this door, both leading into the beautiful groined hall, which is arranged in a double aisle, divided by three piers (consisting of three quarter-columns placed back to back, with bases and capitals and their responds), and connected with groined vaulting of great beauty, the springers of the side-walls rising from corbels. Light is obtained from the deep embrasures of three windows overlooking the river, the fourth being occupied by the fireplace. This hall is Edwardian.

West of this room, and now used as a servant's bedroom, is a vaulted apartment of one bay, separated from the hall by a massive wall, in which are two irregular openings, formerly doorways into the central hall, but now mere recesses.

West, again, is yet another apartment, used as a scullery, and opening to the kitchen by a door of the time of Fulke Greville. The kitchen¹ lies beyond, and is entirely of his date. In the north-west corner is an ancient chamber at a lower level, reached in part by a flight of twelve steps, the lowermost of which are a portion of a newel stair.

¹ "The kitchen was a very important part of an Edwardian Castle. The Norman cookery was probably very simple, and few of their keeps have any discoverable kitchen. The later kitchen was often a great feature in the Castle. The oven was often of large size" (Clark, "Med. Mil. Arch.," p. 164).



From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE CHAPEL, WARWICK CASTLE.

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Here is an interesting leaden tank, with the arms and crest of Greville, Lord Brooke, and the date 1682.

Next comes—

THE CHAPEL OF ALL SAINTS.

This is mythically said to have been founded by Saint Dubritius, and to have been his cathedral before it became the chapel of the Castle. It was granted to the College of St. Mary by Roger de Newburgh.

It occupies a projecting rectangle east of the bay last described. On the western side is a double bay, separated by the angular turret of a stairway leading to the leads. Against this, which has pointed windows, is built a modern stair, leading from the courtyard to the "Armoury Passage," and downward to the kitchen. The square formed by the north-west of the building forms the main entrance from the courtyard to the chapel, and is reached by a flight of twelve steps leading to the large four-centred doorway.

The chapel, on the exterior, occupies the three succeeding bays, the two eastern of which contain narrow pointed windows with rather elaborate tracery—these seem modern: an original window lighting the ante-chapel is left between these and the doorway. There is also a pentagonal turret leading to the leads, which also gives access from the undercroft to the dining-room through a small lobby built on an arch between these windows. Inside the chapel is divided in two by a modern carved stone screen. The exterior of the ante-chapel is reached from the long corridor and by

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the newels already mentioned. The window recess on the west has shallow panels, and is filled with medallions of glass, chiefly from the Low Countries.

The roof is a flat ceiling, with beams ornamented with rosettes.

There is an interesting headless statue of a pilgrim with book and wallet, said to represent Guy of Palmer's weeds.

The eastern window of the chapel contains a good deal of ancient glass, and also these arms—*viz.* Greville impaling, Quarterly, 1 and 4 Gules, three five-foils or (Hamilton); 2 and 3 Argent, a lymphad sable (Arran); 2 and 3 Argent, a human heart gules crowned or, on a chief azure five mullets of the field (Douglass). Greville alone. And the inscription:—

Ex dono
Brownlow Cecil
Exoniae Comitiss
A.D. 1759.

The window is disappointing, the general effect being very good; but it is merely a collection of small, mainly very small, fragments. The figures themselves are patchwork.

In the upper tier the central figure is the most perfect; it is that of a beardless man in albe (or surplice) and cope, the latter with a rich border. He has a nimbus, and holds a crown in his right hand. The lower part consists of a very voluminous robe, non-ecclesiastical, and a fragment of an inscription:—

nube Hilariſ . . . la . — . la.

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The figure on the left is perhaps in part that of a palmer. A green cloak and wallet ornamented with gold tassels are seen, and worn over a white full robe, with the cap of a doctor of laws. The broken inscription reads :—

da glor . . . & heluo.

That on the right is again fragmentary : a bearded head, white robe, and green wallet on a background of an indescribable nature.

The second series is more perfect. On the left is an angel in surplice and stole, with head arranged in an unusual manner, with a curious cross ornament in front resembling the middle part of a tiara. The hair has a corona of feathers. The nimbus is plain, and behind are fragments of wings.

In the centre is the effigy of an archbishop in mitre and pallium, holding in his left hand a patriarchal cross, and the same broken lettering. On the left is a demi-angel with wings, in albe, amice, and cope.

Beneath the chapel is a double room. That to the east is a small room of one bay, with groined roof, and is entered by a newel stair ; a door from it leads to the larger room. The second room is of two bays, and groined. The exterior staircase tower is built over a basement of two divisions : one rectangular, with a door in its north wall, opening in the court ; the second opening from it, an irregular hexagon. Between this and the main corridor are the base of a staircase and a small square room.

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THE GILDED DINING-ROOM

forms another rectangular projection from the main building, to which it was added by Francis, Earl of Warwick. It consists of three bays of building of two stories' height. The two western bays constitute the dining-room; the third forms an open porch, in which is the principal entrance to the Castle, approached by a flight of steps. The whole is uniform in design with Greville's work.

This building hides from sight the Great Hall, an imposing room, formerly approached through an entrance passage and wooden screen, above which was the minstrels' gallery, and having the pointed doors leading to the pantry, buttery, and kitchen on the left; while at the other end of the hall was the entrance into the Solar, or retiring-room, also pointed. The daïs was, of course, at this, the western end.

The undercroft below the Great Hall occupies four bays. The three eastern have groining rising from a central circular pier and two responds, dividing the room into a double aisle. A strong partition wall separates this part from the two western bays, which lack the piers, but are divided by slight partitions into two compartments. The south wall is all along very thick, and contains garde-robes and fighting-chambers in its thickness.

The open porch mentioned above as constituting the third bay of the building of Francis, Earl of

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Warwick, incorporates and conceals the vaulted rectangular substructure of the original porch, which projected a bay from the main building, and is vaulted below, with a flight of four steps to the corridor. In the angle formed by it and an eastern extension (itself of a single bay) is a turret stair leading from the basement to the leads. This constitutes the extent of the early work in this direction.

It must not be forgotten that this end of the Great Hall was anciently occupied by the kitchen, pantry, and buttery, which buildings may or may not have entirely covered the ground now occupied by the rooms described later.

Along the south wall of the Great Hall and in its thickness is a gallery, with pointed openings into the hall. In its windows, of which there are four, are some interesting fragments of stained glass. Counting from the west :—

(1) Badge of the red rose, ensigned by a royal crown, and lettered H. R. A medallion of foreign work with a bacchic scene. A foreign shield—*viz.* Per pale argent and sable, a chevron chequy of the first and second, between three wolves' heads erased or. *Crest*: On a wreath argent and sable a castle proper encircled by a snake or, and thereon a cock gold. Dated 1622.

(2) German medallion, Jacob obtaining Esau's birthright. *Arms*: Tierced in pairle. In chief, Argent, a fess dancetty gules; in chief, three lions' heads sable. In base, on the dexter, Argent,

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a fess between three lozenges of the field; on sinister, Argent, a chevron between three martlets sable.

(3) Return of the Prodigal Son. *Arms*: Barry wavy of four gules and or, per pale counter-changed; on each half-bar a fleur-de-lis and a lion's face, also counter-changed (or four fleurs-de-lis and as many lions' faces, disposed alternately and counter-changed). These shields are of foreign workmanship.

(4) A portcullis ensigned with a crown. *Arms*: Sable, on a cross engrailed between four (imperial) eagles displayed argent, five lions passant of the field, all within a garter inscribed:—

HONI. SOYT QVE MAL Y. PENCE.

The windows overlooking the river were filled with heraldic glass by the present Earl as follows:—

The easternmost window has: Quarterly, I. Argent, two bars gules (Mauduit); II. Checquey or and azure a chevron ermine (Newburgh); III. Lozengy or and azure, on a bordure gules, fourteen plates (Beaumont); IV. Gules, five crosslets in saltire botonée or (. . .?); V. Argent, two bars gules, in chief three fleurs-de-lis of the second (. . .?); VI. Argent, a lion rampant azure, a chief gules (Waltheof). In the centre Beaumont. On the sinister: Quarterly, I. Gules, a fess or (Beauchamp); II. Beaumont; III. Newburgh; IV. Mauduit; V. Per pale or and gules, three roundels counter-changed (Dabitot).

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Second window:—

Quarterly, I. France (modern); II. England; III. Beauchamp; IV. Newburgh, over all a label argent, on each point a torteaux (Plantagenet).

Quarterly, I. Argent, on a fess gules three lozenges argent (Montagu); II. Or, an eagle displayed vert (Monthermer); III. Gules, a saltire argent, over all a label azure (Neville); IV. Per bend azure and or, a lion rampant counter-changed (Frances).

Quarterly, I. Or, a lion rampant vert queue-fourchée, armed and langued gules, a crescent of the last for difference (Sutton-Dudley); II. Barry of six, argent and azure, in chief three torteaux, a label argent, having in the centre a crescent gules for difference (Grey); III. Gules, a lion rampant in a bordure engrailed or, a crescent for difference (Talbot); IV. Or, a saltire between four martlets sable (Guilford).

The third bay is occupied by the fireplace. The fourth window contains; I. Sable, on a cross engrailed or, five pellets within a bordure also engrailed gold (Greville), impaling quarterly, I. and IV. Argent, a fess azure within a bordure tressure flory counter-flory gules (Charteris); II. and III. Or, a bear sable (. . .?). Greville impaling Argent, a chevron azure between three hands coupé gules (Maynard).

In 1830-31 the original ceiling of the hall was replaced by one designed by Poynter. The red-and-white marble floor was made in Venice in 1831.

The Gilded Dining-room is not remarkable for anything in its structure, save the chimneypiece of white



From a photograph by L. C. Keightley Peach.

THE ARMOURY PASSAGE, WARWICK CASTLE.

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marble carved in low relief, with the eagle of Jupiter and the thyrsus and wine-flagon of Bacchus. It is Italian work. The walls of this room are panelled in white and gold, and the ceiling corresponds. It was built by Francis, Lord Brooke.

THE ARMOURY PASSAGE.

This passage is in reality a long corridor, of which the first portion is vaulted in stone for seven bays from the Great Hall, to which it opens. This is of ancient date. The remainder, built by Fulke Greville, partakes of the character of the time, and is principally plaster work. Behind the vaulted portion lies first the ancient Solar, now called the Red Drawing-room, or the ante-room, which itself opens into the Cedar Drawing-room, beautifully panelled in that wood.

The passage contains a number of shields in its windows, chiefly foreign :—

(1) Argent, an eagle displayed and dimidiated sable impaling Argent, a fess or between three trefoils slipped vert. *Crest*: Two eagles' pinions sable. "Geleyn Popta 1616."

(2) Vert, a boar salient proper. *Crest*: A boar as in the arms, between two eagles' wings or.

(3) Quarterly, I. and IV. Sable, a knight armed and in armour, on horseback proper; II. and III. Per fess gules and vert a lion rampant argent.

(4) Or, three martlets sable.

(5) Argent, a chevron gules between nine cloves sable. On the dexter is a shield Argent, a lion

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rampant sable. On the sinister, Per fess argent and or a wyvern azure.

(6) Quarterly, I. and IV. Gules, four fusils in fess argent, on each an escallop sable; II. and III. Or, a trellis cluée and charged with rosettes. *Crest*: A cubit arm verted gules, the hand proper grasping a dagger or.

(7) Azure, on a pairle or, a lion rampant of the field; on a chief of the second, a demi-eagle issuant sable.

(8) Quarterly, France and England, a label argent within a garter (Plantagenet).

(9) Azure, a cross pattee or, charged with a pale argent and thereon five crosses pattee fitchée sable impaling Gules, a fess or between, in base three escallops argent, and in chief a goat's head silver (Archbishop Warham).

(10) Quarterly, I. and IV. Sable, a chevron ermine between three saltires humettée argent (Greenwood); II. and III. Or, on a fess between three oak leaves proper as many escallops (Greenwood).

(11) Badge, a red rose within a wreath purple banded with red and white roses in threes.

OTHER BUILDINGS.

East of the main entrance are a range of buildings, erected probably by Fulke Greville, or perhaps at a later date in uniformity with his work.

On the court side they are of three bays of three stories, with a newel in the south-west corner and

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between third and second bays. A fourth bay containing a staircase and a fifth bay are recessed back from the main edifice, and seem more recent.

On the interior these form a double series of rooms, a lobby of two bays (cedar panelled), and a library (also of two bays), with a very handsome Italian chimneypiece, carved with a frieze of conventional foliage, birds, and fruit, and these arms: Barry of six, in dexter chief a demi-lion of St. Mark issuant from clouds.

The extension contains two rooms. In the first is a mantelpiece of mottled marble with small relief insertions; in the second, lighted on both north and south, an Italian mantelpiece of great beauty, with a frieze of foliage, masks, and monsters, and arms, similar to that in the library.

West of the former room, and separated by a passage only, are the two drawing-rooms.

And there we may leave these architectural topics. The precincts of the Castle have been spoken of already as references to them in the course of the narrative suggested. It only remains to mention that the Manor of Warwick remained with the Crown till it was granted in 1629 by Charles I. to the Corporation of London, who in 1631 sold it to William Bottom, of London. In his family it continued till 1742, when it was bought by Francis, Earl of Warwick.

CHAPTER VI

Fulke Greville's Benefactions to the University of Cambridge—His Liberalism—Robert Greville, Second Lord Brooke—His Opposition to King Charles I.—The Siege of Warwick Castle—Exploits of Lord Brooke in the Civil War—The Death of Lord Brooke at the Siege of Lichfield.

WE found a suggestion of Liberalism in one of Sir Fulke Greville's speeches in the House of Commons. He argued, as we have seen, that "it was a pleasing thing and popular to ask a multitude's advice." Further Liberalism was the result, whether designed or not, of one of his benefactions. He endowed a history lectureship at the University of Cambridge. In the Calendar of State Papers, under the date of December 16th, 1627, we may read what was the consequence of this endowment:—

"Dr. Matthew Wren to Bishop Laud of Bath and Wells. At his coming home to Cambridge found Dr. Dorislaus, sent hither by Lord Brooke, whose domestic he now is, with his Majesty's letters to assign him a school and time to read a history lecture on the Annals of Tacitus. His first lecture passed unexpected, but the writer warned the Heads in private that the lecturer placed the right of monarchy in the people's voluntary submission. The second lecture contained such dangerous passages, and so applicable

to the exasperations of these villainous times, that the writer could not abstain before the Heads from taking offence. The Vice Chancellor sent for his lectures, out of which the writer privately gathered the principal passages, which he incloses. The writer declined to incorporate the lecturer as a Doctor of Cambridge, but describes him as of good learning, very ingenuous, and ready to give satisfaction in any kind. It was agreed to send him to some of the Council, and await further directions. Not doubting that the Duke will consult with Bishop Laud, the writer apprizes him of the facts, but does not wish to be known as a delator."

Somehow or other both endowment and lectureship have long since disappeared—"lost by the iniquity of the times," says one writer—but no one, whether at Cambridge or elsewhere, seems to know what has become of the money. But, whatever happened to the lectureship, the Liberalism, as we shall observe, though it waned, did not become extinct.

Fulke Greville maintained his obstinate celibacy to the last, and so died without issue. His heir, whom he had also adopted as his son, was his cousin, Robert Greville, only son of another Fulke Greville, of Thorpe Latimer, in Lincolnshire, by Mary, daughter of Christopher Copley, of Wadworth, Yorkshire, relict of Ralph Bosville, of Gunthwaite, in the same county. The lad was twenty years of age when he came into his inheritance, and he died at thirty-five; but all that was best in the Liberalism, whether active or



From a picture at Warwick Castle.

Rob Brooke

ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, KILLED AT LICHFIELD, 1643.

Warwick Castle

philosophic, of the period was to be crowded into his brief career.

Sober men were then growing daily more discontented with the government of England by Charles I. We have already marked them looking with grave eyes across the seas to the Plantations in New England and Virginia. The young Lord Brooke was one of those who, in 1630, looked most earnestly in that direction. His name comes next to those of the Earls of Warwick and Holland and Lord Say and Sele, and in front of that of John Pym, in the list of the grantees of a charter of "incorporation by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers for the Plantations of the Islands of Providence, Henrietta, and the adjacent islands between 10 and 20 degrees of North latitude and 290 and 310 degrees of longitude."

Nor was his aim merely to engage in trade and speculation. He and Lord Say and Sele, we read, "procured from Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, an assignment of a large tract of land in North America (now part of New England) of which he had obtained a grant from the Crown; and in the year 1635 sent over George Fenwicke, Esquire, to begin a settlement of the country, and prepare a place of retreat for them and their friends; in consequence of which a town was built called Saybrook."

For whatever reason, however, the two friends departed from their plan of emigration, and thenceforward fought shoulder to shoulder in the battle for the liberties of Parliament. Clarendon regarded them

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as the only positive enemies to the whole fabric of Church and State to be found in the House of Lords ; but that is only Clarendon's way of stating a fact which other less prejudiced historians would state quite differently. It would have been better to say that they were the resolute opponents of arbitrary misgovernment, and not in the least disposed, like Falkland, to favour an impossible and unreasonable compromise for the sake of a quiet life. If there had been more men like them, the trouble would have been sooner settled.

The King summoned Brooke to the Bishops' War in 1639. He repudiated the obligation, but went as far as York. There he was invited, like the other officers, to subscribe a protestation of his loyalty. His answer was firm : " If the King suspected their loyalty, he might proceed against them as he thought fit ; but that it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them, which were not enforced by law ; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it." For this he was imprisoned, though, after interrogation, he was released and dismissed from attendance. He was arrested again at his own house—his papers being also seized—in May, 1640, but was once more released. In August of the same year he came to the front again as one of the signatories of a petition that the war—the Second Bishops' War—might be composed without blood. When, after bloodshed—the Scots having crossed the Tyne, driving the

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English before them—the war had to be composed, he was put forward as a suitable man to negotiate a treaty,—the Treaty of Ripon, whereby the Scots retained Northumberland and Durham as a pledge for the payment of their expenses at the rate of £850 a day. Finally, he was one of those who supported the impeachment of Laud and Strafford.

And now, of course, events were coming to a head, and the outbreak of civil war was imminent. We have described the circumstances of the outbreak once, and we need not go over the ground again. What we must note is that Lord Brooke began fighting before the formal opening of the hostilities, and even before the formal raising of the Royal standard at Nottingham. During the period of preparation for the inevitable, he, acting as Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Warwick and Stafford, garrisoned Warwick Castle and mustered the train-bands and volunteers for the Parliament at Stratford-on-Avon. What happened next we may read in one of our invaluable Civil War Tracts, dated July 30th, 1642, and printed on August 3rd, 1642, entitled:—

The Copie of a Letter sent from a speciall friend in COVENTRY, wherein is related the severall passages betweene the Right Honourable the Lord Brook and the Earle of Northampton, three miles beyond Banbury, upon the conduct of certaine Peeces of Ordnance to Warwick-Castle.

Northampton was levying forces for the King by Royal Commissions of Array, and he barred Brooke's path near Banbury.

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“My lord Brooke,” we read, “commanded his company to light, and tye their Horses one to the other in the Field, and every one to charge and make ready to stand on their guard. His Lordship giving them great encouragement from the goodnesse of the Cause, and that he would lead them, and come on in the first place, and caused to be mounted 3. Peeces of Ordnance, and made them ready, both Companies being within 10. or 12. paces shot of Musket, my Lo: Brook and the E. of Northampton met seven or eight times, with three or foure other Gentlemen of each side to parley. The country sent to my Lo: Brook 6. load of Harrows to keep off horses, and a Cart load of Bread and Cheese, and great store of Beere. My Lords Company did so increase, that before he went out of the Field, his 350. were neere 1000. The Companies stood so upon their Guard from 10. aclock in the morning, till 5. in the afternoone, ever expecting when they should give fire, which if they had, many would have lost their lives. Their agreement was, that my Lo: Brook should returne to Banbury with the Peeces of Ordnance, and engaged his Honour to give the Lo: of Northampton three daies notice before he would remove them from thence toward Warwick, by reason of the imminent danger.”

Lord Brooke now referred to the Parliament for orders. His instructions were to advance. He gave the stipulated notice, and nearly three weeks before the formal beginning of the war defeated the Earl at Kineton, near Banbury. His defeat, however, did not

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prevent the Earl from laying siege to the Castle. It is the only one of the sieges sustained by the Castle of which we have any full contemporary account. Our information is derived from the tract entitled:—

TRVE / And / NEVV NEVVES / with an example from *Warwick* / CASTLE / and also from other parts / Especially upon the Anti- / *Round Heads* / And also some other debosh't, ma / lignant, and pro-fane persons, where / in Gods Judgements are exemplified to fal / as a just warning to all those that make a / game or mocke of Religion / With a True / Relation of Sir / Edward Peto's / hanging out his winding sheet / and the Bible in his Colours / at Warwicke Castle / with other observations / of great note.

Printed for the use of all : but especially for those that stand to maintain the / true Protestant Faith, and sold by T. Bates. 1642.

This “letter, from a gentleman at Warwick to his friend in London,” runs thus:—

“This day sevensnight in the morning, my lord of Northampton, Earl of Darby, Earl of Barks, Lord Dunsmore, and all their forces, came to Banbury, and there they had small opposition; the ordnance was delivered; and from thence, with all speed, they went to War. to my lord Brooke's castle. The town, unsuspectedly to them in the castle, let in my lord Compton with his forces; then they were confident the castle would be delivered up presently; but there they found a man of courage, that brave man Sir Edward Peito, who upon the first message sent the lords an absolute answer, ‘he would not deliver the castle.’ They gave him two hours, and sent again. Sir Ed. sent an angry answer, that they might have

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take his word at first. The lords planted their ordnance against the castle and discharged one ; Sir Ed. in requitall, discharged two, and bid them as liked that shoot again. Then Sir Ed. made proclamation, that all his friends should depart the town, and for the rest, bid them look to themselves. He hung out of the castle a bloody flag, and a flag of defence, with a cross upon it, in defiance of the Papists, and now shootes night and day with double muskets that kill twenty score¹; he shot through the house where the L. Compton lay, which made him remove his lodging. The L. Compton being planting ordnance on the tower of the church, Sir Ed. discharged an ordnance from the castle, which took off a pinnacle of the tower and made the cavaliers stir ; nevertheless they discharged the ordnance, being one they took from Banbury, which broke all in pieces, and some say, hurt the L. Compton's sonne ; whereupon they suspect all the ordnance that come from Banbury to be poysoned. A fellow of my Lord of North's, going over the street with a shoulder of mutton in his hand, held it up, and said, 'look here, you round-heads, you would be glad of a bit presently,' fell down dead, being shot from the castle. There are not many yet slain ; the castle remains untoucht ; and Sir Ed. now hangs out his winding-sheet and Bible. The L. of Northampton is gone out of War., it is supposed to meet the King, who they say will be at Wark. this night. The trained

¹ That is, at 400 yards' distance.

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bands are summoned, upon pain of death, to appear at Wark. to guard the K.'s person. There are many gone ; some say, Sir Ed. promises if the K. comes, to deliver him the castle ; but I believe it must be upon very good terms. I heare there came fifty troopers last week to Coventry, and there desired to come in ; they took them in and disarmed them, and staid their horse. Our Papists begin to stir ; they disarme private men, and take their armes out of their houses ; they have taken Sir Ed. Peito's horses out of the stable, 8 for the saddle ; they kill my L. Brooke's deere ; but Sir Ed. Peito is a brave resolute man, and begat a great deal of honour. We expect my Lord Say, or some of our Parliament men, to countenance us, for we are almost borne down with great ones."

Another account, in another tract, gives some further details :—

"There came Letters to the Houses, informing the true state of things at Warwick Castle ; That Sir Edward Peto very valiantly keeps the same, notwithstanding the often attempts against him by the Earle of Northampton and his Company, who have possessed themselves of Warwicke Towne, and do daily commit great spoile and out rage against any that seem well affected to the Parliament. That the Lord Compton by a Bullet shot from the Castle, hath a great part of his neather jaw stricken off, and now lyes very sicke with great danger of life ; but the Earle of Northampton hath made some retreat backe to meet His Majesty

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upon his going to Nottingham, to draw His Majesty with his maine force to Warwicke Castle."

Lord Brooke, however, came up and relieved the Castle on August 23rd—the day after the ostensible opening of the war. In spite of the artillery discharged from the church, it had not been seriously damaged. He then came to London, and on September 16th was appointed Speaker of the House of Lords for that day—a compliment which he had well earned.

His place, however, was in the field, and he returned to it. He was too late for the battle of Edgehill; but, being appointed, under Essex, general and commander-in-chief for the associated counties of Warwick, Stafford, Leicester, and Derby, he took Stratford-on-Avon by assault, and completely secured Warwickshire for the Parliament. Let us print the letter which gives some account of this campaign under the title of "The Last Week's Proceedings of the Lord Brooke, and the first in this Present Expedition." It runs thus:—

"SIR,

"I know it cannot bee unpleasing unto you to heare well of your Noble head, and by his Lordships good beginnings, which presage better things, so farre as good Discipline and an industrious resolution bespeaks happinesse to an enterprise.

"When our Carriages and Ammunition was come to Northampton on Tuesday, that night my Lord advanced towards Coventry, leaving behind him at

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Northampton part of his Men and Officers to raise more, with Ammunition answerable. By the way he sent a Party of Horse to Sir Thomas Caves House (who had formerly derided 60. Dragoneers sent out by Northampton) upon summons they resigned without opposition, and there wee were furnished with some 30. Horse; my Lord countermanding all plunder, which accordingly was performed, except a little parcell of Money which Captaine Browne's cornet took from a Woman, for which since he is cashiered.

“We came to Coventry on Wednesday, where my Lord, to lose no time, issued our warrants to call in that part of the countrey to appeare on Saturday. In the Interim his Lordship was advertised of a Party of Horse (300) of the enemies, come to Stratford upon Aven, whereupon his Lordship commanded 20. Dragoneers to give them an Alarum on Thursday. Thereby to prevent them of that quiet and rest they did not deserve, and which would make for his Lordships designe, and by the way foure of these Dragoneers, drove 6. of their scouts into Towne, and the whole performed their businesse well, and kept our Enemies wakeing all that night. My Lord resolved to waite upon them on Friday night, and so wee marched from Coventry to Warwick where wee were at 10. of the clock, we could not there (notwithstanding my Lords great industry, and personall care the best part of the night) furnish our carriages with Horse so speedily as was intended, so that it was nigh 8. of the clock before we came before

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Stratford. My Lord sent Horse to prevent intelligence, yet a country man and friend of theirs, espying us 2. miles on this side, crossed the Fields, and gave the enemy advertisement, upon which they out themselves under a hill, where they could view us in our march, we drew the greatest part of our Artillery to the Vanne, they having the greatest part of our Horse, and we expediting the first charge there, but withall suspecting their wheeling about, we drew up our reere, so that we stood tryangle upon three hils in full view each of other; frō the reer division we let flie a drake, which ran through the midst of them, and forced them to wheele off towards the Town, and we hasted after them so fast as our Carriages and the plowd Lands well softened with the raine, would permit us. But our enemies hast was such, that we could not come within musquet shot of them. Sir Robert he was shot and fel of his horse; we took his Cornet, who tenders 50*l*. for his ransome, who tells us, that Sir Robert was to have bin made Colonell next weeke; we have his brave horse, new saddle and Pistols. The enemy had some foot from the adjacent parts, but they forsooke him before we saw them, my Lord did much like himselfe in this service, and was both active and resolute, and his Serjeant Major Russell speakes himselfe, an experienced souldier. My Lords Footman, T. L. chased three of them in the sight of us all, Lieutenant Colonel Wagstaffe being one.

“At our entery into the Towne Capitaine William

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Bridges found in the Hall 3 Barrells of powder, which within an hour after blew up the town-house, which wounded Captain Hunt, but slew none, no doubt designed to have surprized my Lord and all his chiefe, presuming they would have sate in counsell there : My Lord wiled his Commanders, that none should plunder the town, although wee have some reason to believe they invited the Enemy. Its true the Major of Esons Coronet, took an old gown, to watch in, but it was re-delivered : We returned to Warwicke last night, and this morning we are following another designe, and my Lords Forces left at Coventry, joyne issue with us. The country comes in to Coventry : And so my Lords service in great multitudes, wherupon the Committee have sent for his Lordship, but I trust his Lordship will first dispatch the designe.

“ I commend to you this as the first fruits, and a good beginning to that whole, the which through Gods blessing, we may expect that great thing in my thoughts, being that good foundation of Piety, Discipline, and active resolution, which his Lordship hath and still desires to l y [*sic*]. This I have writ not so much for what is done, but what is well done, in hast, farewell.”

Another pamphlet gives a vivid account of the relief of Coventry and the pursuit of the Cavaliers therefrom :—

“ SIR,

“ I give you a short, but true Relation of

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ROBERT LORD BROOKE'S ARMOUR.

In the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

what past yesterday, being the 23. of August, between the Cavileers that lately left their breach made at Coventry, to their shame and losse, and to the great dishonour of their Master, not daring to enter it, and the thrice noble and valiant Lord Brooke Commander in chiefe of those Forces, sent by the Parliament, for the reliefe of the distressed in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, &c. The Cavaleers being come to Dunsmore Heath, from the aforesaid City, and the Lord Brooke drawing neer to them, each understood by Scouts of the neernesse each to other; the Lord Brooke intended to have reposed himselfe, his wearied Troops and Regiments after their long March; but understand-

ing that his enemies were upon retreat, he forthwith advanced, and in the morning early, having set his Army in order, planted a Canon in a place most convenient for to anoy the enemy, let flye at them, and made such a lane, that the enemy was so

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long in reordering, that they thought they would not have made head againe, but at last they did, and made good the fight for 8. or 9. charges each upon other; the Parliament let flye another Canon among the Infantry, who were about 200. and as is conceived, many were slain; at least the Cavaleers left the field, taking all their dead and maimed with them; in this encounter not one of the Parliament party was killed or hurt; but on the other many: Captain Leg was taken prisoner, and some others.

“Of the Lord Brookes side some twelve were wounded by the firing of some Powder, and one shot himselfe through the foot with his Pistoll, and another his fellow through the back: the Messenger will be gone, otherwayes I would inlarge, in telling you of the wonderfull courage and shouts of joy the Parliament party made when they came in sight of the Enemy, and that all the worke of the Commanders was to order them, and keepe them backe, all of them being desirous to be of the forlorne hope, if they could. Likewise I should tell you of the joy of the Countrey people, that those that pillaged and plundered them, are now met withall. The Kings Majesty went the night before to Leicester, and thence we conceive will Northerly; but we hope, what by pursuit of the Parliaments Army, and the courage of the Countrey people, most of the Cavaleers will not be able to overtake him. When a more exact Relation can be had, I shall send it, in the interim I rest,

“Yours.”

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Warwickshire secured, the next step was to secure Staffordshire ; and it was in the course of this supplementary expedition that Lord Brooke met his untimely death. I give the story in the words of Dugdale, who appreciated his character, though he was his political opponent.

“ Which Robert,” Dugdale writes, “ being unhappily tainted by the subtilty of some active Nonconformists, with Antimonarchial Principles ; and so without much difficulty drawn in, by those Fiery Spirits of the late Long-Parliament ; who, under divers Specious Pretences, raised several Armies against the King ; became the Commander in Chief of those Forces, which were sent to assault the Close at Litchfield, then defended by a small Garrison, which His late Majesty (of blessed memory) had most piously placed there, for the preservation of that stately Church. Against which, there being a Battery planted ; he was unfortunately shot in the Eye, as he stood in a dore (whither he came, to see the occasion of a sudden shout made by the Soldiers) of which he instantly died.

“ A person he was, who, for the Nobleness of his extraction (as is evident from what before I have shew'd, however mistaken by others) and many personal endowments, deserv'd a better fate, at least to have fallen in a better cause. Who (had he liv'd, 'tis believ'd by his Friends) would soon have seen through the Pretences of that Faction.”

CHAPTER VII

Would Robert Greville have changed Sides if he had lived?—A Modern Parallel to Robert Greville—His Philosophical Writings—What Milton thought of him—His Speech to Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle—Poetic Tributes on his Death, and a Letter of Condolence to his Widow.

THAT Lord Brooke would have changed sides if he had lived is what I, for one, in spite of Dugdale, find it quite impossible to think. The matter is one on which, I think, the student of history is better qualified to judge than the contemporary observer. The student, having more facts before him, has certainly a better comprehension of the importance of the points at issue between the King and his Parliament, and has hardly less excellent opportunities for judging how a given man, whom he may know very intimately, thanks to his friends and to his writings, would have regarded them.

Occupied, so far, with the story of battles, sieges, and other military operations, I have had no time to try to make it clear what manner of man Robert Greville was. The passages quoted from the pamphlets have shown how naturally he led and how readily he was followed. The quotation from Dugdale, who was present on the King's side at Edgehill, has shown how sincerely he was respected even by his enemies,

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who regarded him rather as a lost sheep than as a ravening wolf. But there is much to be added to this, if the real portrait of the man is to be given.

For Robert Greville was not only a politician who took up arms and discovered that he could handle them effectively: that type was fairly common in the period, though the greatest soldiers of the Commonwealth, like Cromwell and Monck, were soldiers first and politicians afterwards. Robert Greville was that combination which has been rare at all periods of all histories: the philosopher who is also a man of action. And such men are not apt to change their minds in the heat of action, for the good reason that they have thought things out before they have begun to act. They have fixed principles to which they can refer, and by which they can judge.

An exact modern parallel to Robert Greville would be difficult, if not impossible, to find. Owing to the modern tendency towards the specialisation of function, one could not expect to find a man of his philosophical gifts among soldiers, or a man of his military gifts among philosophers. But if we do not insist that our parallel shall be a soldier (though he must, of course, be a man of action in some department), we may search more hopefully; and the modern man whose career most reminds me of that of Robert Greville is that eminent survival of the school of philosophic Liberalism, Mr. John Morley. There are differences between them, of course—notably in

their respective attitudes towards religious belief; but the resemblances are very striking.

Let us consider what characteristics distinguish Mr. Morley from other politicians of our day. One notes, to begin with, that he was a philosopher from the first. Long before he sat in Parliament he had written his striking essays on Rousseau, Voltaire, and the Encyclopædists. One notes, in the second place, that he had versed himself in the theory of politics before he practised it; he proved it as the biographer of Cobden and the editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. One notes, in the third place, that his philosophy strengthened instead of weakening him for the battle of life. He has displayed Mr. Chamberlain's vigour without his inconsistency, and Mr. Balfour's cleverness without his hesitations. Alone among Secretaries of State for Ireland he has been at once strong and suave. Whether one agrees with him or not, one feels that he is unlikely to change his mind because he did not make it up in a hurry—because he has principles instead of prejudices. Robert Greville, I am persuaded, was just that sort of man.

One is apt to forget that men thought deeply on other subjects than politics at the time when the impeachment of Strafford and the arrest of the Five Members were the palpitating topics of the hour. It was, nevertheless, a time of intellectual ferment upon all subjects with which the human mind is occupied. Among men of meaner intelligence the ferment led to the founding of strange religious sects based upon

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subtle misinterpretation of the Scriptures. Among men of loftier intelligence it led to metaphysical philosophies, to some extent anticipating those which began to flourish in Germany rather more than a century afterwards.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART'S SHIELD.

At Warwick Castle.

Not all histories of philosophy mention Robert Greville's name. It is true that he was not a great philosopher. How shall a man be a great philosopher and die at thirty-five? But, even if he did not quite understand his own meaning, and fell into fallacies

which any undergraduate can detect to-day, he is none the less an interesting figure in the history of the evolution of human thought.

His philosophical book, published when he was only thirty-two, was "The Nature of Truth; its Union and Unity with the Soule, which is One in its Essence, Faculties, Acts; One with Truth . . ." London, 1640. He had written, says the "Dictionary of National Biography," "a treatise upon the prophecies contained in Matt. xxiv. and Rev. xx., and his difficulty in discovering 'the true sense of the spirit' in these chapters set him upon 'a more exact and abstract speculation of truth, as in herselfe, without her gown, without her crown,' which is throughout mystical. The book shows some acquaintance with Aristotle and the schoolmen. The treatise was severely criticised by Greville's friend John Wallis in 'Truth Tried, or Animadversions on a Treatise.'"

Modesty forbids me to offer any criticism of my own upon his philosophical position; but I translate two passages bearing on the subject from Rémusat's "*Histoire de la Philosophie anglaise depuis Bacon jusqu'à Locke.*"

"The argument," says Rémusat, "is superficial and sophistical and overflows with pantheism—a pantheism of which one perceives neither the sense nor the purpose; for Lord Brooke infers from the abolition of all dissolution of continuity between the Divinity and the Universe that it is only the more necessary to live like a Christian—that is to say, in

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God. It must be admitted that these consecrated phrases : ‘ God is Truth ’—‘ Truth is One ’—‘ There is no true being save in God ’—and the like—make plausible and even logical a kind of verbal pantheism which might make legitimate the doctrine of unity of substance. Lord Brooke has not succeeded in escaping from the seduction exercised over the mind by the equivalence or identity of the terms, and he has drawn the conclusion that the things are identical too. It has nevertheless been possible to observe how weak is the argument by which he supports his conclusion. His argument starts from the proposition that the light of the soul can only come from God. But, in the first place, this would be no reason for saying that anything in this world except light emanates from God ; and this word emanation, reserved for light—that is, for reason, which is of divine origin—is only a metaphor on which it is impossible to base a philosophic system.”

And then again :—

“ Between Greville and Wallis we find once more the old quarrel which already divided great minds in the time of Xenophanes and Parmenides. There is certainly a sophistical temerity in identifying being with knowledge ; but there is a want of philosophic penetration in ignoring all that existence owes to thought and all that being gains, in intensity if not in reality, by being known. Hegel has, in our own times, reproduced and emphasised the audacious doctrine of the absolute unity which, in the language

of theology, is called pantheism; and some of his adversaries have not avoided the weakness of superficial minds which reduce all reality to the immediate conclusions of common sense. One may say that Lord Brooke, adopting a hazardous and grave doctrine with somewhat of levity, has only brought into relief the principles and consequences of that which he advances with more confidence and reflection, and that Wallis easily triumphs over the bold and confused assertions which he criticises. His discussion is clear and conclusive. He certainly puts in the wrong an adversary who has not sufficiently considered the propositions which he is maintaining, and has committed himself to them without looking at them sufficiently closely. Still there is more sense than depth in Wallis's criticism. Speculatively he does not rise above the current doctrines of the school of his time, and some words that he lets fall prove that he has been somewhat gratuitously compared to those who are still called, perhaps too freely, the Cambridge Platonists."

Perhaps I am not quite sure what all this means. But I can see that it demonstrates two things. The one is that Robert Greville's religious position was not an accident of his birth, but rested upon a philosophic basis; the other is that Robert Greville counts in the history of philosophy in spite of the imperfections of his logic. And those were the two points that I desired to make.

As a political philosopher Robert Greville was surer

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of his ground and clearer in his arguments. Among a cloud of witnesses I may call John Milton. A passage in the "Areopagitica" pays a signal tribute to his passion for toleration and liberty of speech. Milton writes:—

"What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequall to suppress opinions for the newnes, or the unsutableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewayld a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook. He writing of Episcopacy,¹ and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however

¹ The reference is to "A / discourse / opening / the nature / of that / Episcopacie, / which is exercised / in England. / Wherein, / with all Humility, / are represented / some general Considerations tending to the much / desired Peace, and long expected Refor- / mation of this our Mother Church. / By the Right Honourable Robert / Lord Brooke. / London / Printed by R. C. for Samuel Cartwright / and are / to be sold at the signe of the Hand and Bible / in Ducke-Lane. 1641." 4to, 124 pp.

they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of Gods Ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to our selves. The book it self will tell us more at large, being publisht to the world, and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusall."

Robert Greville, however, may also be called as his own witness. Among the many Civil War Tracts through which I have had to plough my way, none has interested me more than that entitled:—

A Worthy
SPEECH

made by

The Right Honourable the
Lord Brooke, at the election of his
Captaines and Commanders at
Warwick Castle, as also at
the delivery of their last
Commissions.

The speech was delivered very soon after the King and the Cavaliers had left Whitehall. One must read it not as an oration but as a manifesto. It shows us clearly for what reasons Robert Greville had taken the Parliamentary side, how well he understood the points at issue, how firmly he was convinced. He knew their history as well as their immediate bearings.



From a photograph by L. C. Keightley Peach

WARWICK CASTLE FROM THE DRIVE.

Warwick Castle

“Gentlemen,” he began, “Country-men, my noble friends and fellow Souldiers, I have a few words to deliver to you which may deserve your attentions; and will I hope meet as good welcome and acceptation from you, as they come from me, with the true zeal to your safeties and the wel-fares of the afflicted Countrey: we behold the flourishing and beauteous face of this Kingdome, overspread with the leprosie of a Civill War: In which, since we are forced for the safeguard of our lives, the preservation of our liberties, the defence of Gods true Religion (*invaded by the practises of Papists and Malignants*) to become actors: I doubt not but each of you will play your part with that noble resolution and Christian courage as the greatness and meritoriousnesse of the work does challenge.”

The appeal is not to passion or prejudice, but to the higher motives:—

“No man is born for his own use only, saith that great Common-wealths-man of the Romans, Cicero, his friends and Countrey-men claim an ample share in his abilities, as your friends, your Countrey, nay your Religion and God himself demands in yours. And surely it would be both unnaturall and impious to denie such powerfull suitors your assistance.”

The definition of the cause is clear. The Papists—those are the enemies. The speaker sees what they have done in the past:—

“They have plundered our neighbours, ravished their estates out of their possessions, and committed inhumane and unheard of barbarousnesse in every

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place where the tempest of their fury has had licence to shew its malice."

He fears what they will do in the future, if they get the chance :—

"Can you imagine they would stay there, that their insatiate avarice and thirst of blood will be quenched and appeased with these petty spoils : No Gentlemen, they aim at you, at all our ruins ; desolations and deaths are machinated by these vipers, who would know a passage to their ambitions, through the intralls of their mother the Common-wealth, whose destruction they have pursued as craftily and violently, as if possible to be expected from persons of so much acrimony and spleen to the Subjects liberties, and aversion of true Religion and all goodnesse."

He wants only men who are prepared to fight with motives as lofty as his own. If any man there is not moved by the justice of the case, he would "rather have his room than his company." What they have to fight for is freedom of conscience :—

"Your religion and freedome of your Consciences, which far transcends your corporeall liberty, invoaks you to stand up it's champions against these Papisticall Malignants ; who would strike at God through the very heart of his known truth, so long practised amongst us : And surely nothing can be dearer to any of Conscience, then the security of this his Conscience, and it's unvaluable freedome."

Nor must any man fancy that in taking up arms he is guilty of disloyalty :—

“ And whereas the going against the King may stagger some resolutions, I shall easily disabuse you from those vaine surmises and incertain imaginations, 'tis for the King wee fight, to keep a Crown for our King, a Kingdom for our Sovereign and his posterity, to maintain his known rights and priviledges ; which are relative with the peoples liberties, from a sort of desperate State incendiaries, that in seeming to fight for his Majesty brandish open arms against his sacred Crown and Dignity. For if you will but observe the men of whom the adverse army is compounded, you shall find them eyther notorious Papists or Popishly affected persons, and then be convinced in your own reasons, if it be possible, that those men should take up arms in the Kings defence whom by so many divellish plots and hellish stratagems, have sought not onely his precious life, but the lives of his Predecessors, Queen Elizabeth and his Father of sacred memory, as that never to be forgotten powder plot shall for ever testifie to their shame and confusion of face : wherein they would at one blow not only have destroyed our pious King that now reignes (*and long may he live and reign over us*) but his Father, brother, and all the royall Progeny with the chiefe of the Nobility of the Kingdome. And if these men be competent persons to be intrusted with the Kings safety, who have so apparantly sought his ruine, let all indifferent men be judg, or that Papists and Jesuited persons will ever fight to maintaine that Religion which they manifestly oppugne in their lives

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and doctrines, and have both by foraign and domestick treacheries sought to root out from the face of the earth, as by 88. and other of their attempts, is manifest and perspicuous, that they should be patriots to keep our lawes and religion from violation or alteration, whose Justice points them out for disturbers of the publique Peace, and renders them able to punishments in their estates and persons, as notorious and convicted Malefactors ; as well we may believe the light is a friend to darknesse, or that the warring Elements should cease their perpetuall difference, as allow that paradox."

Finally, he intends the war to be conducted in a manner decent and humane, and on this head he addresses a special word of caution to the veterans of the German wars who had offered him their services :—

"I must needs thanke the Gentlemen for their kind proffer, and yet desire licence to be plaine with them, hoping they will not take it as a disparagement to their vallours, if I tell them we have now too woefull experience in this Kingdom of the German warres ; and therefore cannot so well approve of the ayde of forraigne and mercinary auxiliaries. In Germany they fought onely for one spoile, rapine and destruction, meerly money it was and hope of gaine that excited the Souldier to that service : It is not here so required as the cause stands with us ; Wee must rather imploy men who will fight meerely for the Cause sake, and beare their owne charges, than those

who expect rewards and salaries, for by such meanes we shall never have a conclusion of these warres; for mercenaries, whose end is meerely their pay, whereas their subsistance [?], rather covet to spin out the warres to a prodigious length, as they have done in other Countries, then to see them quickly brought to a happy period; wee must dispatch this great work in a short time or be all liable to inevitable ruine. I shall therefore freely speake my conscience, I had rather have a thousand or two thousand honest Citizens that can onely handle their armes, whose hearts goe with their hands, than two thousand of mercinary Souldiers, that boast of their forraigne experience. For such make money meerely the end of their endeavours, without looking into the Justice of the Cause, when these well-affected Citizens being acquainted with the cause which is for Almighty God, their Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Subjects Liberty and safety wil now be a means to be incouraged and be animated to goe on courageously in this great work, (knowing that good deeds are rewarded in themselves) if God bee not pleased to give a blessing to the work in hand by a faire and honest Accommodation betweene his Majesty and Parliament to give a cessation to these warres."

And the remarkable discourse ends thus:—

"So I shall conclude my Speech, and turne into prayer this my Discourse; That God Almighty will arise and maintaine his own cause, scattering and confounding the devices of his enemies, not suffering

the ungodly to prevaile over his poore innocent flocke. Lord, we are but a handfull in consideration of thine and our enemies, therefore O Lord fight thou our battailes, goe out as thou didst in the time of King David before the Hosts of thy servants, and strengthen and give us hearts, that we shew ourselves men for the defence of thy true Religion, and our owne and the King and Kingdomes safety."

It is a great speech, and not at all like the speech of a man who would have changed sides if he had lived; though I am inclined to think it is the speech of a man who, if he had lived, might have helped to shape the course of English history.

Such a man was badly wanted just then in the ranks of the nobility. Well-meaning men abounded among them, but strong men did not. Such men as Essex and Manchester were quite incapable of withstanding the iron will of Cromwell. My impression of the second Lord Brooke is that he might perhaps have done so. But that precious life was cut short by the fatal bullet in the Close at Lichfield; and England mourned his loss.

"He was," we read in a Spencer MS., "the very flower of courtesie and humanitie, insomuch that those, who were most opposite to him in points of Divinitie, did yet highlie honour him for his sweet moralitie. His Temperance, Sobrietie, and Chastitie were untainted, untouched, unstained, unrepachable. His recreations were such as were most beseeming a man of honour; much delight he toke in Bowling, Riding his great

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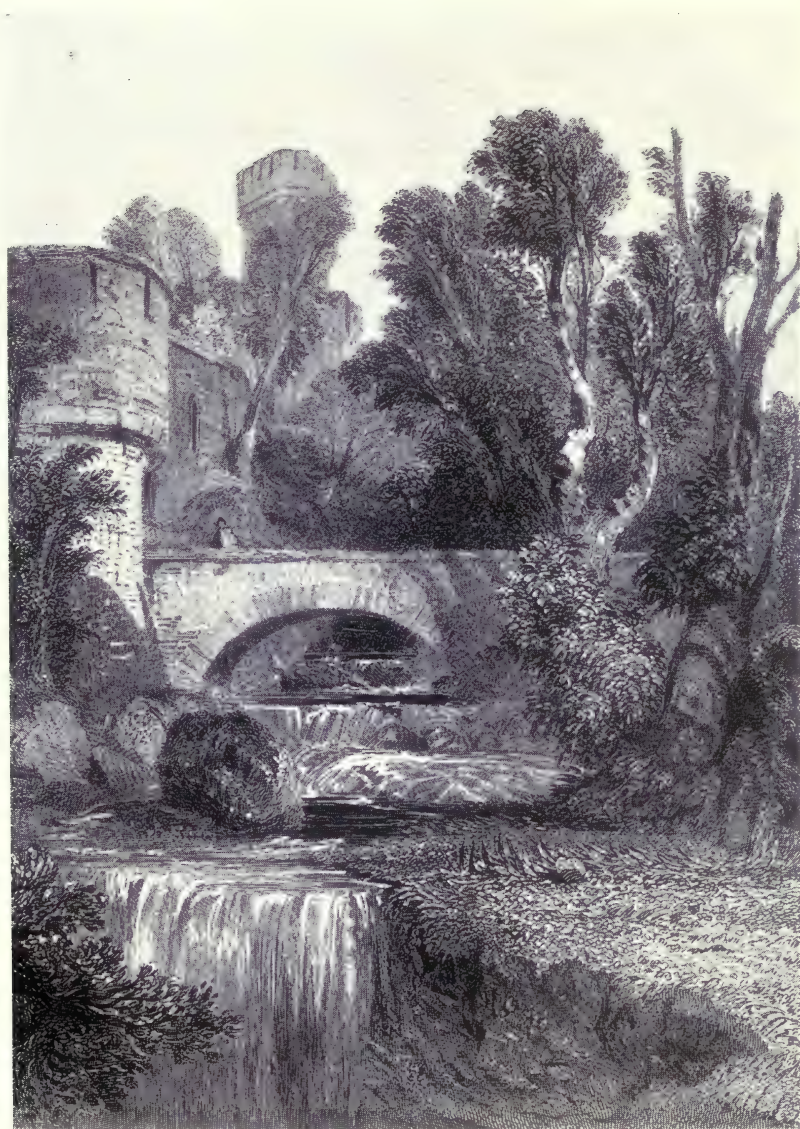
horses, playing at Chesse, which is a worke of the phantasie and is a very ancient and most noble game."

Tributes of verse, too, flowed from the pens of all the poets. One could almost fill a volume with their elegies. Let me quote first Harrington's "Elegie upon the Death of the Mirrour of Magnanimity, the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke":—

"Tis past all mortals power, then much more mine,
To tell what vertues dwelt within this shrine;
Yet if illiterate persons walk this way,
And ask what jewell glorifies this clay,
Say, good Brookes ashes this Tombe hath in keeping,
Then lead them forth, lest they grow blind with weeping.
Tell but his name, no more, that shall suffice,
To draw downe floods of teares from dryest eyes.
Our griefes are infinite, therefore my Muse,
Cast Anchor here; mine eyes cannot effuse
Any more teares; this for thy comfort know:
Fate cannot give us such another blow.

Let me next quote from the tribute of his old opponent in theology, John Wallis. It begins with an "address to his Vertuous and Noble Lady":—

Sweet Lady,
Can your weeping Eye behold
A paper, sadly offer'd, where 'tis told,
Your Lord is Dead? And so Untimely too?
Treble to You, to Us a double Woe.
'Tis Sad to Say; Sadder to you to Heare:
Unhappy he, must be the Messenger.
Yet since you Know so True, so Sad a Woe,
Give leave to let you know, We know it too.



After a picture by G. Cattermole.

THE RIVER BRIDGE, WARWICK CASTLE.

Warwick Castle

We first your Losse, and then your Griefe bemone ;
(Some Ease, in Sadnesse, not to weep Alone :)
Our Tears (ambitious) make their sad addresse ;
(We'd bear a part, that You might weep the lesse.)
Give leave, we pray, to joyne in Tears with You,
(Yet weep we shall, whether with leave, or no :)
And make this paper blest to kisse your hand,
From him who's prest,

MADAME

At Your Command,

JOHN WALLIS.

And from the elegy itself I make the following
extract :—

Then weep we must. That heart is too too hard,
That in a publike Sadnesse would be spar'd.
Publike, I say, yet more than Common, Grief ;
(Else might a Common Cordiall yeeld relief,)
'Tis not a Lady mourns, not I, alone,
I am but Speaker of a Kingdoms mone :
A Kingdomes publike losse it is ; all those
Have lost in Him, that had but ought too loose.
Yea those (as yet) that count his Losse a Gain,
Will (after) say, 'Twas pitty Brook was slain.

Such Meeknesse lodg'd in a so Noble Breast ;
Such Candour mixt with such Heroïcknesse ;
His Thoughts so Low joyn'd with Deserts so High ;
Practise of Truth as well as Theory ;
Not quick (as some) to Bid and slow to Act,
Praising to others what themselves detrect ;
His thoughts the same with what he did pretend ;
A Course direct as well as upright End ;
An Active Vigour with Integrity,
Strait Aims pursu'd not with an Oblique Eye :
Should I or this or more dilate, yet lesse
Is said in Words, than what our Tears expresse.

● The House of Greville

How gladly would my pen persist to tell,
How willing would my pleased Fancie dwell
On this so sweet a subject, as to say
How Good he was, how well deserving He ;
His Learning, Wisdome, Worth, and Piety,
Worthy how long to live, how late to dye ;
To speak his Praise, of his Deserts to boast :
But that 'tis sad to think, All this is lost.
Counting His Worth, we count our Losses too ;
That we Admire, This doth encrease our Woe.
All this, and more than this, is lost in One,
All this is lost when Noble Brook is gone.

Finally, from the letters of condolence included among the Warwick Papers I select the following :—

“To the right Honourable and truly vertuous, the
Lady Catherine Grevill, Baronesse Brooke of
Beauchamp Court.

“MADAM,

“The immature death of your most accomplished Lord (of whom the world was not worthie) was (and still is) the great Griefe of all good hearts ; witnesse that torrent of teares which overflowed their faces. The Subject also it hath been of many nimble Pennes ; which by their excellent Elegies, though they could contribute little to his Lordships Honour, being then in the ffull, have consulted well to their own Names, receaving Lustre from his Lordships Death, as the dead man receaved Life from the bones of Elisha. To testifie the ardour of their Soules, and tell the unworthie world, what a Pearle and Pillar it

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hath lost, was the minds of them filled, and is of my impolished conceptions. Which as they set forth latter so they goe a great way further then any yet have done. Though John outran Peter, and came first to our Saviours Sepulchre, yet Peter went first in, and then John. Shall any former, or any other Pencill come after mine, and either augment this Portrayture, or cast it into a better complexion, I shall triumph though overcome; who, knowing that none can doe honour enough, shall rejoyce in him that can doe the most to this noble name. Mean while I doubt not but my weak Endeavours shall finde good acceptance, as with your Ladyship, so with all them that had knowledge of your incomparable Lord, and are unfeigned honourers of the most shining vertue, God Almightye enlarge his graces upon your Selfe, and all your noble olive Branches, and fill you all with his strength. This is, and ever shall be the fervent prayer of him, who is, Your Ladyships in all dutie and service to be commanded,

“THOMAS SPENCER.”

CHAPTER VIII

Francis Greville—Robert Greville—Fulke Greville—The Diminution of Liberalism in the House—A Collection of Letters from the Warwick Papers.

THE widow of Robert, second Lord Brooke, who survived him, was Lady Catherine Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford. Three of the five sons whom she bore him—Francis, Robert, and Fulke—succeeded to the title. Francis died, young and unmarried, in 1658. He bequeathed to his mother the Manor of Admington, in Gloucestershire, and the reversion of the Manor of Haselor, in Warwickshire. Robert lived in enjoyment of the title until 1676. His tenure of the Barony, that is to say, covers the first sixteen years of the reign of Charles II.

There certainly was room in that reign for the exercise of an honourable Liberalism. The King began well by giving office to some good Parliamentarians. Lord Say and Sele, for instance, was made Lord Privy Seal; and the more important measures of the Long Parliament were accepted as the basis of the new government. Presently, however, the Cavalier party, having gained the upper hand, proceeded to the persecution of the Nonconformists; and the Statute-book was defaced with such enactments as the Conventicle Act, the Five-mile Act, and the Test Act.

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Puritans were imprisoned—John Bunyan among the number. Of the small sect of the dissenters as many as twelve thousand found their way to the gaols. Richard Baxter draws a pitiful picture of the condition of the clergy expelled from their livings :—

“Many hundreds of these, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. . . . Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or to maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water, many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks’ time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plow six days and preached on the Lord’s Day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood.”

One knows instinctively how Robert, the second Lord Brooke, would have acted in the presence of such tyrannical oppression. He would assuredly have staked his life in the struggle for remedial measures. Robert, the fourth Lord Brooke, however, does not appear to have inherited his father’s stalwart character and opinions. Perhaps, having grown up with Puritanism in the days when it was most aggressive—he was born in 1638—he had acquired a distaste for it. At all events, he does not figure as an opposition agitator. He was, together with Charles Rich, Earl of Warwick, one of the six peers sent to invite the King to return;

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and he was Lord Lieutenant from 1660, and High Steward from 1674, of the county of Stafford.

A great number of the letters addressed to the Fourth Lord Brooke are preserved among the Warwick Papers. I have been through them carefully with the view of selecting some of them for publication.



ISAAC WALTON'S MARRIAGE-CHEST.

Now at Warwick Castle.

We may begin with an interesting letter from Lord Newport, which deals only with personal matters :—

“Eyton 5. Oct. '62.

“MY LORD,

“I am the more sollicitous to make an earlye acknowlegdm^t of y^r Ldps great fauvurs in some measure for y^e incapacitye that is upon mee of making any

proportionable returne, eythr by way of expression or otherwise: To remedy one part whereof I have made as diligent a search as I could for some of those Elegant Epistles I have formerlye received from y^e Gent. wee last spoke of, with intent thence to have taken an Example, but wanting that advantage am altogether desperate more then of y^r Ldps goodnesse not to repent you of Layinge obligations on soe emptye a Person. My Lord happinesse comes upon you soe fast in this world that I much doubt w^t will become of y^u in the next, and it is not considerable w^t my L^res bring you, when another by the same messenger makes even Spadillio y^r suppliant; Goddesses sue to come und^r y^r roofe, and least y^u should not ascende thither will bring Heaven downe to you. Sure y^u are something more than mortall that Divinitye soe haunts you, that you can put both worlds into One, and, as my friende Ben Johnson [*sic*] sayes—

Make Fate

While shee tempts ours to feare her owne estate.

Of this new Creation a little further evidence would bee noe lesse agreable to little S^r Charles then to y^r Ldp, myselfe and others that are not of a rambling humour and would not bee allwayes hunting after strange worlds. If the Govenor of New England bee with you p^sent my service to him; but I wish him noe benefitt by it, for hee that rambles soe much while he y^s alive will not be well settled when hee is dead. I hope y^r Ldp does not keepe him there in expectation



From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

WARWICK CASTLE FROM THE BRIDGE.

Warwick Castle ♀

of o^r coming to Warwick, for my wife will not go before they goe back. Spadillio says shee will goe from us on Fryday, and then how desolate a place this bee y^r Ldp will imagine; but 'tis possible shee may goe to Brookehouse, the consequence of which I doubt will bee that y^r Ldp will bee troubled with many Law-sutes this winter. Nay, I cannot tell. My Lord, by this little . . . y^r Ldp must take noe measure of y^e resolutions of my heart for y^r service, being much greater then more roome then this will give me leave to tell y^u from

“ My Lord, y^r Ldps most affectionate H. servant

“ FRA: NEWPORT.”

(Warwick Papers, 2817.)

In October of the same year we find an important official communication, giving instructions for the suppression of an obscure insurrection which the histories as a rule leave unmentioned:—

“After our very hearty Comendacions to y^r Lo^{pp}. Wee having received Informacon that very many Persons wickedly design to disturb the Peace of this Kingdom, And as much as in them lyes to destroy his Ma^{ties} happy Government w^{ch} Wee cannot be too carefull to prevent. To w^{ch} end Wee do earnestly recomend to yo^r Lo^{pp} the speedy settling the Militia under yo^r Lo^{pps} Lieutenantcy in such manner as is directed by the late Act of Parliament, if it be not already done, And that you give his Ma^{tie} and this Board a speedy Account thereof. And further that

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yo^r Lo^{pp} give imediate order to yo^r Deputy Lieutenants to search for and seize all Arms and Amunition which shall be found in the Custody of any suspected Persons. And to disarme all such who are known to be of factious and seditious Spirits, and in any kind disaffected to his Ma^{tie} and his Government. And to give Order unto them to cause fitt and good Watches to be kept in his Highways, with direction to disarme such Persons as travell with unusuall arms and at unreasonable howers. And to apprehend and secure such as cannot give satisfactory Accompts of themselves, and their good affection to his Ma^{tie} and his Government. All these particulars Wee cannot but seriously comitt to yo^r Lo^{pps} care and direction, the effectual and vigorous execution whereof doth so much conduce to the preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom. And so Wee bid yo^r Lo^{pp} very heartily Farewell. From the Court at Whitehall the 31st day of October 1662.

“Yo^r Lo^{pps} very loving friends

“CLARENDON, PORTLAND, CARLISLE, LAUDER-
DAILL, W. COMPTON, CHA. BERKELEY, WILL
MORRICE, HENRYE BENNET, EDW. NICHOLAS,
E. G. WATKER.

“Stafford, L^d Brook.”

“To Our very good Lord the
Lord Brooke Lord Lieutenant
of the County of Stafford.”

(Warwick Papers, 2787.)

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In December there is an important letter on the same subject from the King's Secretary, leading us to the conclusion that there was serious apprehension of internal danger at a date when the throne is usually believed to have been secure :—

“CHARLES R.

“R^t trusty and R^t wellbeloved.—We greet you well. Whereas in the act for orderinge the forces in the Severall Counties of this our Kingdome, it is provided that in case of apparent danger to the Government wee shall and may raise such sūme and sūmes of money dureinge the space of three yeares from the five^o and twentieth day of June last past, not exceeding the sūme of seaventy thousand pounds in one whole yeare for the defrayinge the whole or such part of the Militia as wee shall find ourselfe obliged to employ in order to the quiet and security of this nation and whereas the aforesaid danger is made most manifest and notorious bȳ the professed disobedience and dissatisfaction which many discontented and mutinous spirits daylȳ avow against the Government as more particularly appeared in the late plot and contrivance within this our City against our Royall Person which if not timely prevented had dispersed its Contagion ~ throughout the whole Kingdome by their malignant conspiracies, whom no Lawes how severe soever have hitherto been able to restraine from tumultious and seditious meetings, to sūppresse

and disipate which it will not bee allwayes fitt or convenient to assemble the whole standing Militia for the charge and trouble the Country will receive therby Wee takeinge this into our most serious consideracion and weighinge well that ther is noe other expedient left of more Universall ease then for some time to keepe on foot part of it to secure the peace and quiet of our good subjects whoe live in a perpetuall apprehension of beinge made again a Prey unto them doe hereby in pursuance of the aforesaid Act charge and command you forth^{wth} to raise, or order your Deputies within your Lieutenancy to raise one monthes Assessment after the rate of seaventy thousand pounds *per mensem* for the defrayinge such part of the Militia as wee either at [once?] doe employ or shall judge necessary to bee employed until the five and twentieth day of June next ensuinge, In the raiseinge of which you and your Deputies are exactly to observe such rules and directions as are given and expressed in an act of parliament for the raiseinge of eighteene monthes assesment after the rate of seveanty thousand pounds *per mensem*; and you are to direct that the said money soe Levyed and collected bee paid unto the Sherriffe of that our County in whose hands it shall remaine, Untill by our warrant hee receive order from us to disburse it for the use abovesaid and for noe other whatsoever. For which these our Letters shall bee unto you and your Deputies a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall this 19th day of

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December 1662 in the foureteenth yeare of our
Raigne.

“ By his Ma^{ties} Comānd
“ HENRYE BONNER.”

“ To our R^t trusty and wellbeloved
“ Robert Lord Brooke L^d
“ Lieutenant of our County of
“ Stafford.”

(Warwick Papers, 2788.)

A letter of the beginning of the following January
affords evidence of Lord Brooke's zeal in the execu-
tion of his orders :—

“ Whitehall Jan^{ry} 4th 1663.

“ MY LORD,

“ This is in acknowledgement of yo^r Lo^{pp} of
y^e 31st past, wherein was an Informacon of Collon^{ll}
Lanes, of words spoken to M^r Moncton by some
disaffected persons, All which I have — communi-
cated to his Ma^{ty}, who approves very much Yo^r
Lo^{pps} care in his Service, and wishes you will proceed
further in y^r enquiry, w^{ch} is supposed may be perfected
by gaining y^e said M^r Moncton tho' till now their
one [?] witness can be had ag^t y^r seditiōny persons, it
will be needless to strive any thing against them nor
on yo^r Lo^{pps} part to doe any thing more, than to

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keep yo^r selfe in a condition of mastering any trouble that may arise in y^e country from those ill rumours which by what yo^r Lo^{pp} heard from Ireland were not without foundation. As any thing more of this kind comes to yo^r knowledge I beseech yo^r Lo^{pp} to impart it to me, and to command me in all things as

“ My Lord,

“ Yo^r Lo^{pps}

“ most humble servant

“ HENRY BENNETT.

“ L^d Brook.”

[The wrapper of this is lost.]

(Warwick Papers, 2793.)

The following refers to the raising of funds for the payment of the expenses of the militia :—

“ After our very hearty comendacons to yo^r Lo^{pp} according unto the Returnes received from yo^r Lo^{pp} of the Estate of each Peere of this Kingdom within yo^r Lieutenancy, Wee have in pursuance of the Act of Parliament for setling the Militia assessed and Charged horses on each of them proportionably. The numbers whereof wee herewth transmitt to yo^r Lo^{pp} to the end yo^u may take effectuall Care that their horses may be ordered to be in readynesse upon all occasions for his Ma^{ties} Service. Whereof not doubting,

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Wee bid yo^r Lo^{pp} very heartily Farewell. From
Whitehall the 23rd day of July 1663.

“Yo^r Lo^{pps} very Louving friends

“SUFFOLKE

“ALBEMARLE, PORTLAND, BERKELEY

“DORSETT, BRIDGEWATER.

“Wee have thought fitt to leave the
Bishoppes estates (if any in yo^r Lieutenancy)
to be assessed by yo^r Lo^p and y^e Deputy
Lieutenants.

Lord Brooke L^d Lieutenant of y^e County of Stafford.”

“To Our very good Lord
the Lord Brook Lord
Lieutenant of the County
of Stafford.

“At Warwick Castle by Coventry pacquett.”

(Warwick Papers, 2794.)

The year 1665 also produces some interesting letters. One has to suppose that in that year the Great Plague and the Dutch divided and monopolised the attention of the Government. The following communication from Salisbury, whither the Court had removed, proves that they also had other burdens on their minds:—

“CHARLES R.

“Right Trusty and Wellbeloved and Trusty and
Wellbeloved. We greet you well. Though it might

have reasonably been expected in such a conjuncture as this of warre abroad and a spreading contagion at home, while we employ our Armes and Treasure in y^e defence of our Trade and Navigation and Honour and Almighty God is pleas'd to visit us with so greate sicknesse and mortality, that all y^e People of this Kingdome of how different persuasions soever, should be awakened into a more yⁿ ordinary care of their minds, and hold themselves obliged by all y^e bonds of conscience and duty, rather to stifle and quench that restlesse spirit of Faction and Rebellion then to sow new seeds of tumult and disorder, taking advantage from our present engagem^t and y^e calamity w^{ch} threatens to much vain [?] and destruction. Yet since we receive dayly information from all Parts, both of Country and City, that y^e implacable malice of our enemies at home is now more than ever active to involve us again in confusion and blood, against all y^e methods of our mercy and clemency, as well as God's manifold dispensations towards us and his heavy judgm^{ts} w^{ch} hang so terribly over our heads. We think it therefore necessary at this time to require your particular and extraordinary care and Watchfullnesse over y^e Persons, actions, meetings and confederacies of all such in y^e County who by their former practices or present seditious temper shall give you just cause of suspicion, causing those among them of more especiall note to be imprison'd and others to give security for their good and peaceable demeanour; and upon any beginning or jealousye of stirre and

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commotion that you draw y^e Volunteer Troops or such parts of y^e Militia together as may be least burthen-some to y^e People during their Harvest, taking care that y^e Captaines and officers be ready when they shall be called upon to do their duties, and provided with powder, match and bullets; and by all meanes whatsoever y^t you preserve y^e Peace and quiet of y^e Country, and advertize us from time to time or our dearest Brother y^e Duke of Yorke so long as he shall remain in y^e north, of all things and accidents w^{ch} may conduce or be contrary thereunto. And soe we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Salisbury y^e 15 day of August in y^e 17th year of our Reigne 1665.

“ By his Mat^{ties} Command

“ ARLINGTON.”

“ To our right Trusty and Well Beloved

“ Robert Lord Brook^s Lord Lieuten^t

“ of our County of Stafford

“ And in his absence to the Deputy Lieuten^t

“ of the s^d County.”

(Warwick Papers, 2803.)

Shorter but hardly less important letters bearing on the same matters are the following :—



From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

QUEEN ANNE'S BEDROOM, WARWICK CASTLE.

Warwick Castle ♡

“MY LORD,

“Received yo^r Lo^{pps} of the 20th instant and the enclosed List. I know non of the p^{rs}ons men-
cened in itt, butt George White who is a naughty
fellow, and I desire he may bee continued in hold.
The rest yo may dispose of yo^r Lo^{pp} shall think fitt
either to secure them or take bayle. Col. Crompton
and Capt. Backhouse are already prisoners in Chester
Castle.

“I Remyne

“Yo^r Lo^{pps} very

“humble serv^t

“ALBEMARLE.

“Cockpitt 25th 7th .

“1665.”

“To the right ho^{ble}

Robert Lord Brooke

Lord Lieuten^t of the County

of Stafford these

“att

“Warwick Castle.”

(Warwick Papers, 2806.)

“RIGHT HON^{BLE},

“According to y^r Lord^{ps} late L^{re} we have
this day dismist both horse and Foote from further
service, theire fourteene daies being out; and though
we have noe purpose to draw more of the Militia

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upon this occasion without further comānd; yett we have given strict order to those not yett employed to be in a readiness. We have likewise taken security of most of the suspected psones, brought into this place, some few of them that either would not or could not give security, being left in the custody of the Provost Marshall untill we heare further from y^r Lordšp whose comānds shall ever be observed with the exactest care and obedience of

“Yo^r Lordps Faithfull serv^{ts}

“ E. BAGOT

“ E. LITTLESTON

“ W: CHETWYND.

“Stafford Septemb: 9th

“ 1665.”

“ These

“ To the Right Hon^{ble} Robert Lord

“ Brooke Lord Lieuten^t of y^e

“ County of Stafford at

“ Warwicke Castle.

“ Present.

“ Post is paid.”

(Warwick Papers, 2804.)

“ Sarum 7ber 11th 1665.

“ MY LORD,

“ I have your Lordšps of the 6th: with a list of those Prisoners you have taken and secured pursuant to his Ma^{ties} Letter of y^e 15th past, of which I have given his Ma^{tie} account, who bids mee thanke

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your Lpp^e in his name for your care and zeale in his service, and orders that you detaine y^e same persons still all or some of them as you shall conclude them more or less dangerous, sending a list of their names to my Lord Generall who will bee able to tell you which of them he hath found upon his examinations and from his universall knowledge of that party bee able to distinguish them, towards which I have in my L^re prepared his Grace and will not make this longer then to assure your L^{pp} of my being with all truth

“ My Lord

“ Your Lpp’s

“ Very humble servant

“ ARLINGTON.”

[Wrapper lost.]

(Warwick Papers, 2805.)

Finally, in 1666, we have a letter relating to the apparent calming of the trouble :—

“ After our very harty comendations to your Lo^{pp}. It haveing pleased God to blesse his Maj^{ties} fleet with a glorious victory over his enemies at sea whereby this Kingdom is for the present secured from the Danger of an Invasion, and his Maj^{tie} being unwilling to continue the Militia Horse which were drawne out of your Leiutenancy to the Rendezvous at Northampton a day longer upon Duty to the charge of the Country than is necessary especially at this

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season of Harvest, and haveing given orders that they be imediately dismissed and comanded to retire to their respective Habitations. We are by his Maj^{ties} Comand to signifie the same unto you, and to pray and require your Lo^{pp} to give directions that an exact accompt be taken, how many daies the said Horse have been upon Duty, and what moneys each Trooper hath remayning in his hands of the moneths pay that he brought with him, and to cause the said remainder to be restored to the respective owners. And of your proceedings herein you are desired to give an accompt to this Board to the end his Maj^{tie} may be informed what proportion of the said moneths pay hath been disbursed in this service and what remaynes to be restored to the owner. And soe wee bid your Ldpp very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall the 30th day of July 1666.

“Your Lo’pps very Loving ffriends

“MANCHESTER

LAUDERDAILL

“FITZHARDING

“WILL MORICE ARLINGTON HOLLES

“STAFFORD

JOHN NICHOLAS.”

“To our very good Lord the

“Lord Brooke Lord Lieutenant

“of the County of Stafford.”

(Warwick Papers, 2812.)

These letters and others like them, which I have omitted, tell us all that it is possible for us to know

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about the fourth Lord Brooke. They do not prove very much, but leave a great deal open to conjecture. The one thing that does clearly result from them is that this Robert Greville lacked the character and calibre of his father. He was only locally a leader



JACK-BOOTS.
At Warwick Castle.

of men, and he contributed nothing to literature or philosophy. Probably, not being a Nonconformist, he felt that the persecution of Nonconformists, though not an end in itself, was preferable to the devastations of a fresh civil war. A good many quite respectable people were then of that opinion. Very likely a good many respectable

people are of that opinion now.

Perhaps, too, he would have ended in opposition if he had lived. James II. would have given him good reason for so doing. But this is an idle speculation. He died in 1676, and, leaving no children, was succeeded by his younger brother, Fulke.

CHAPTER IX

Fulke Greville, Fifth Lord Brooke—The Last Lay Recorder of Warwick—
The Great Fire of 1694—The Visit of William III. in 1695—Fulke
Greville, Sixth Lord Brooke.

FULKE GREVILLE, who succeeded as fifth Baron Brooke, was not, any more than his brother, a notable man, though certain notable things happened in his time. A contemporary estimate of his character describes him as “a man of pleasure with a very good capacity.” Like his brother, he turned his back upon the stern principles of his father. On his appointment as Recorder of the Borough of Warwick, he signed the Declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant on April 5th, 1677. I give a copy of the declaration as signed by him in the declaration-book :—

“5th Aprilis, 1677: xvii Car. 2 di R.

“I ffulke Lord Brooke doe declare that there is noe obligation upon me from the oath comonly called the solemne League and Covenant and that the same was and is in it Selfe an unlawful oath imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom against the knowne lawes and liberties of the Kingdome.

“FULKE BROOKE,

“Recorder of the Borough of Warwick.”

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He was also Member of Parliament for Warwick from 1664 to 1677; but there is little else to be said about him, except that he was Lord Brooke and owner of Warwick Castle at the date of two interesting events—the Great Fire, and the visit of William III. I take my account of the former from the history of the town and Castle of Warwick by the Unitarian minister Mr. William Field—an excellent work, published in 1815:—

“In the same year, 1694, happened the GREAT FIRE, which left more than half the town a heap of smoaking ruins. On the 5th of September in that year, about two in the afternoon, it is related, as a person was crossing a lane, with a piece of lighted wood in his hand, a spark flew from it, and fell on the thatch of an adjoining house, which was soon in flames. Thus commencing near the south-western extremity of the High Street,¹ the fire rapidly spread, aided by a most violent and boisterous wind, utterly destroying both sides of that street, and extending

¹ The following is taken from the Harl. MS. 6839, F. 342, in the British Museum:—

“An account of the dreadfull ffire at Warwick, which happened the 5th Instant, at 2 in the afternoone.

“This irresistible fire in five hours time consumed all the High Street, Church Street, Ship Street, the Great Church, many Lanes, and other Buildings: the howses are numbered at present at 460 lb.; the damage at the least amounts to 120,000 lb.; this account was sent yesterday to our BISHOP, with a particular of the money already sent for their Reliefe Coventry, 200 lb. Birmingham, 100 lb. Lord BROOKE, 40 lb. Lord COVENTRY, 30 lb. in all about, 600 lb. and wee are just going to make a collection for the support of the miserable Inhabitants.—Worcester, Sept. 10, 1694.”



From a picture at Warwick Castle.

Brooke

FULKE GREVILLE, FIFTH LORD BROOKE.

Warwick Castle

thence some way down Jury Street. It then changed its direction, and advancing up the Church Street, it entirely consumed the eastern side; and extended on the western, with destructive fury, as far as the Market Place, great part of which was laid level with the ground. Some houses in Sheep Street were also destroyed; and the flames were unfortunately communicated to St. Mary's Church, from some half-burnt goods which were conveyed into it, as a place of safety. The body of that venerable structure was burnt down; but happily the chancel, the chapter-house, and the Beauchamp chapel escaped. In the short space of six hours, the habitations of no less than 250 families were entirely reduced to ashes; and the damage was estimated at above £120,000. Subscriptions for the relief of the wretched inhabitants were immediately set on foot at Coventry, Birmingham, Worcester, and other places; and further relief was speedily obtained, by means of briefs,¹ from all parts of the kingdom. The town was afterwards rebuilt, by Act of Parliament, in a more commodious and handsome form, partly of freestone, from the rock, on which it stands. This calamity, therefore, as in many other similar instances, however dreadful at the time, has greatly contributed, in the result, to the regularity, the beauty, and the conveniency of the town; and thus to the health, the accommodation, and the comfort, of all its succeeding inhabitants."

¹ One of these briefs, which bears date December 9th, 1694, still remains in the possession of William Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge.

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The visit of William III. took place in the following year. That King had some desire for personal popularity, which, indeed, was a desirable barrier against the plots of Jacobites. To make himself popular, he engaged in royal progresses; and it was in the course of one of these that he came to Warwick and sojourned at the Castle. The account given of the visit is as follows:—

“It was then the eve of a general election, and by the advice of his ministers, in order to recommend himself to popular favor, of which that great and glorious monarch never enjoyed a share equal to his extraordinary merits, he was induced to set out on a tour, through the country; and to visit the seats of the nobility. After having witnessed the diversions of Newmarket, he honored with his company the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton and Montague; and afterwards went to Welbeck, the seat of the Duke of Newcastle. Thence he proceeded to Warwick; and took up his residence at the Castle, which was at that time the seat of FULK Lord Brooke, posthumous son of the accomplished and patriotic ROBERT Lord Brooke, who was killed at the siege of Lichfield. From Warwick, the king proceeded to Eye Fort, the seat of the Duke of Shrewsbury; and, after having visited the university of Oxford, returned to London.”

Fulke Greville married, on January 12th, 1664-5, at the Church of Saint Bartholomew-the-Less, London, Sarah, daughter of Francis Dashwood, Alderman of London, by Alice, sister to —— Sleigh, also Alderman

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of London. He died in his sixty-eighth year, on October 22nd, 1710, at Twickenham, where he had a house, which he bequeathed to his son Dodington Greville and his heirs. He was buried in the family vault at St. Mary's. His other sons were Francis, who married Lady Anne Wilmot, daughter of John, Earl of Rochester, and widow of Henry Baynton, Esq., by whom he had Fulke and his brother William, both in turn Lords, but he died eleven days before his father; and Algernon, who married Mary, daughter of Lord Arthur Somerset, by whom he had two daughters, Mary, wife of Shuckburgh Broughton, Esq., and Hester, and also a son, Fulke Greville, of Wilbury, co. Wilts, author of "Maxims and Characters," of which there are copies at the Castle. This Fulke Greville married Frances, daughter and co-heir of James McCartney, who wrote "The Ode to Indifference," by whom he had five sons, Algernon, William Fulke, James, Henry Francis, and Charles, and one daughter, Frances Anne.

The Fulke Greville who became sixth Baron did not live long to enjoy his honours. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, on December 1st, 1710, and died at the same College on February 24th, 1711. The title passed to his only brother, William, whose life was also a short one. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on January 5th, 1710-11; was created M.A. on November 4th, 1712; married at Leweston Chapel, Dorset, Mary, second daughter and co-heiress of the Honourable Henry Thynne, who died March 29th, 1720; died on July 28th, 1727; and was buried

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in St. Mary's Church. He had three sons: William, baptized April 2nd, 1718, aged four months; Fulke, baptized April 1st, 1719, who died aged twenty-two weeks and six days; and Francis, Earl Brooke.



QUEEN ANNE'S TRAVELLING-TRUNK.

Now at Warwick Castle.

But about Francis, Earl Brooke—the first of the Grevilles to be granted the title of Earl of Warwick—there is so much to be said that the subject cannot properly be broached at the end of a chapter.

CHAPTER X

Francis Greville, First Earl of Warwick—Extracts from his Correspondence
—Other Warwick Papers.

FRANCIS GREVILLE succeeded as eighth Baron Brooke of Beauchamp Court on July 28th, 1729. As was usual with the heads of his family, he held the office of Recorder of Warwick, to which in 1749 was added that of Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, retained until 1757. He was created Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle in 1746, and a Knight of the Thistle in 1753. On April 2nd, 1760, he had a grant of the crest anciently used by the Earls of Warwick¹ for himself "and his lawful descendants, being Earls of

¹ *Viz.* "A bear erect argent, muzzled gules, supporting a ragged staff of the first." His motto was "Vix ea nostra voco." Mr. J. Horace Round remarks that the grant is based on the precedent of a similar one to the Dudley Earls of Warwick, by whom the well-known bear and ragged staff was borne as a crest; and calls attention to the fact that the "*Bear and Ragged Staff* was *not* the *Crest* of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick (which was an entirely different one), but their *Badge* and the *Supporter* of their coat of arms." With respect, however, to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the case seems very different, as he was not only a descendant, but the *senior representative* of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and was *actually in remainder to the Earldom of Warwick*, granted, in 1450, to Richard Neville, the said Earl Richard's son-in-law. It is to be observed that the crest of Beauchamp (*viz.* the demi-swan, issuing out of a crest coronet) was early adopted, in lieu of that of Greville, by the Lords Brooke. The Earldom of Brooke was created in the reign of George II.

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Warwick." On February 3rd, 1767, he presented a petition to the House of Lords that he and his heirs should be enabled to use the title of Earl of Warwick¹ *only*, with the rank of the patent of July 7th, 1746, *viz.* that which conferred the Earldom of Brooke of Warwick Castle.²

He is the "little Brooke" of Horace Walpole's letters. He married, on May 16th, 1742, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Lord Archibald Hamilton (a younger son of William, Duke of Hamilton, by the Lady Jane Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Abercorn). He had three sons and four daughters. The sons were George, who succeeded him; Charles Francis, who died unmarried in 1809; and Robert Fulke, who married Louisa, Countess of Mansfield, and was the father of Captain Robert Fulke of the 35th Foot, who died in 1867, Georgiana, who married Lieutenant-General the Honourable George Cathcart, and died in 1871, and Louisa, who married the Honourable and Reverend D. Heneage Finch, and died in 1866. The daughters

¹ It was natural enough that the owner of Warwick Castle, whose ancestors had possessed that Castle above a hundred years, should desire to be made Earl of that county; and, moreover, he was, as stated in Nicolas and Courthope, "unquestionably *descended* from Walter Beauchamp Baron of Alcester and Powyck, brother of William Earl of Warwick." George III., who had now ascended the throne, and was very particular about such matters, thoroughly approved of the petition being granted. It may be mentioned that his father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, visited the Earl at Warwick Castle about 1768.

² See "Lords' Journals." No further proceedings appear to have been taken in the matter, which, inasmuch as the family *call* themselves "Earls of Warwick" (only), though they *take precedence* as "Earls Brooke," would, if granted, remedy that anomaly.

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From a picture at the Castle.

FRANCIS GREVILLE, FIRST EARL OF WARWICK OF THE HOUSE OF GREVILLE.

were Louisa Augusta, married in 1770 to William Churchill, Esq., of Henbury, Dorsetshire; Frances Elizabeth, who married Sir H. Harper, Baronet; Charlotte Mary, who married John, eighth Earl of Galloway; and Anne, who died unmarried in 1783.

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Historically, Francis Greville, first Earl of Warwick of his family, is not important ; but the Warwick Papers of his period include some interesting letters. We may begin with a letter from George Greville to his uncle. He is only fourteen, and writes with a schoolboy's vivacity :—

“Edinburgh, Argyll Square, Jan. 1, 1760.

“Don't imagine we live luxuriously, no ! no ! A muckle great piece of Beef boiled has lasted the whole Family these fifteen days past for dinner and supper, it was finished and sliced fairly to the Bone yesterday, and then given to the Bearns to suck. . . . Pray tell me some newes, for I assure you there are not greater Politicians at the Smyrna or Mount in London than there are in the New and St. John's Coffey houses in Edⁿ. I have seen Dr. Pitt up all night to wait for the Post, to hear of the K. of Prussia's victory.

“Yours most affect^{ly}

“GREVILLE.”

In another letter from “the same to the same” we have a sprightly description of the Edinburgh family with which George Greville is residing :—

“Mrs. Robertson is a busy good round Dame, in stature I believe she does not want a great many inches of being five feet. I must say she does not rule much in the Family, only over a certain Cup-board in the Dining Room, well stocked with Punch, wine etc. in order that if any of her guests should have

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a desire to taste any of the above articles, they may be at hand, for she does not often attack it herself.

“Her Sister is a young Lady by name Miss Nisbey of about fifty or sixty years of age, something like Mrs. Symmer but cut about a foot shorter. NB she sings Psalms to Perfection. They keep one man or rather a monkey for to judge by his face he is nigh related to that animal and her maids who never put on shoes or stockings but on High Days and Holydays.

“Your most affectionate nephew

“GREVILLE.”

In a letter of the same year, the Honourable Louisa Greville imparts information about births and marriages, and incidentally expresses her candid opinion of Lady Sarah Lennox—the Lady Sarah Lennox who was loved by George III.—and of Ealing. It will be seen that her opinion of Ealing was more favourable than her opinion of Lady Sarah Lennox:—

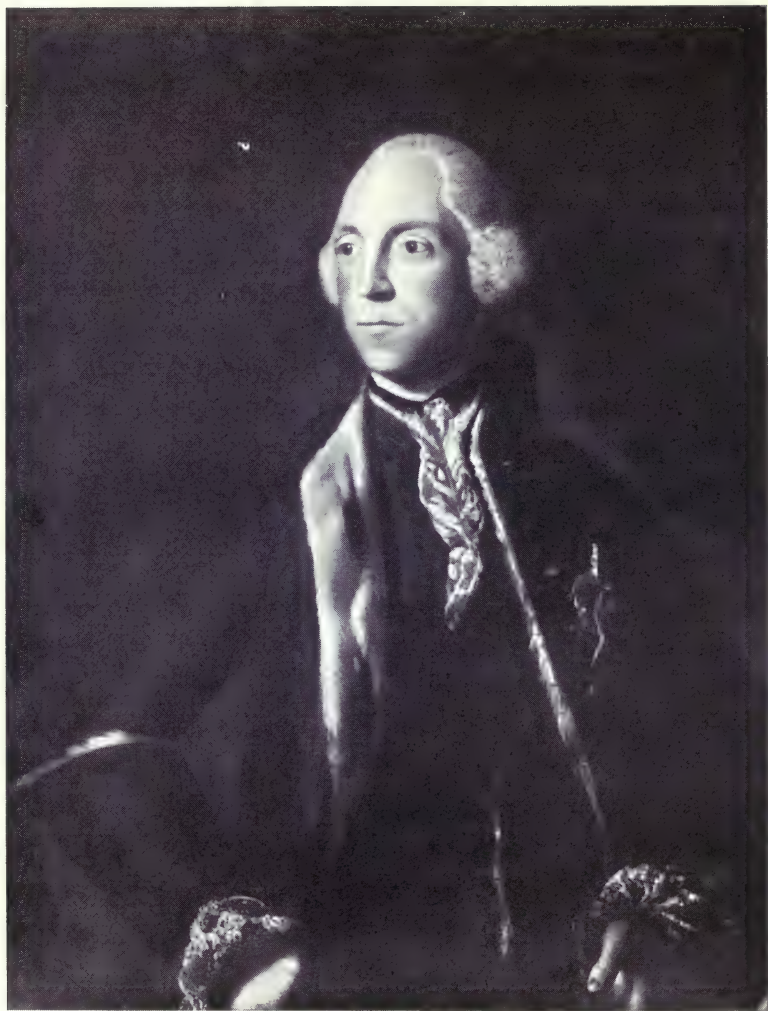
“Ealing Farm Augst 30th 1760.

“I should not have deffer’d so long informing you that you have got another Neice but that I have been every morning in Town to see my Mother, and her, she was born on Tuesday morning, my Mother had not been well the whole day before, and was really ill from about eight in the Evening till near six in the Morning, w^{ch} is a monstrous while. I believe that without being in Danger she could not be worse; however she is now and has been as well

as is possible, and the young Lady also. She is not big, but has a face like an Apple, large blew Eyes, and very dark hair, they say it will be pretty. I really cant say for my part that I can determine yet, it will be a great favourite. It is to be Christened on Sunday because I believe my Father and my B^r go to Warwick Castle on Monday, the Godmothers are L^y Weymouth and L^y Cathcart, and L^d Exeter the Godfather (he is in Town, and the Countess etc. to meet his Brother who they have sent for and who they say wont come) but she is not to be call'd after either of the L^{ys} because Frances is Elizth and that we dont like Jane, so she is to be Anne.—Frances and I are to stand Proxys—Having done with our own news, I must now desire to know why I hear from you so seldom, it is now above a month since I have had a letter, and I want to know how you do, when I shall see you etc. etc. I was told about a fortnight or three weeks ago that Hamilton was to come up to wait, but I have heard nothing of it a great while. I suppose you wont be much longer at Colby, but then you will be going Althorp or Goodwood or some other Visit, that It will be towards Winter before you will be in this part of the World. I hope Ham. has had better fishing this Summer than he had the last. In our Journeys to Town I have met L^y Sarah Lennox very often who is so much handsomer than in the winter, you can have no notion, I fancy'd it was her Riding Drefs that became her, but M^r Amyand tells me that it is the same in any other,

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she is vastly pretty, but she does not improve upon acquaintance, I find I never could make her my Freind. I have seen more of Miss Beauclerk this summer than I ever did, and like her prodigiously, she is odd and singular, but she is vastly clever. It is surprizing how exactly her manner of living and mine agree, with the difference that L^y Vere is a good deal worse temper'd than my Mother her L^y and M^r Beauclerk are gone to Drayton, my L^d and Miss B were here the other morning.—There is going to be a wedding between M^r McLean and M^{rs} Anne, it has been suspected some time. I own I had my doubts but since my Mother and her Sister have been gone, Doc^r Damainbray has been employed to tell my Father of it, she has told nobody not even her Sister to whom she has the greatest obligations, and tho' I have given her several opportunitys she has said not a word to me, I am sorry for it on all acc^{ts} not to say angry. As to prudence there never was any thing more contrary to it, and tho' I have to be sure no right to find fault with any Fool whatever, yet I think that she has behaved very strangely in this affair, it is really a distress to me, for tho' she has a monstrous spirit, and very obstinate, I was used to her, and she is very handy so that I could have gone on very well with her, and I think nothing so disagreeable as a stranger about one—I am sorry that I have no news of greater consequence to send you, one has heard of many Victorys this year but I cant find that any one but the Hereditary Prince gains any advantage



From a picture in the Castle by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.

FRANCIS GREVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK.

(Another Portrait.)

by them. They talk of one gained by the K. of Prussia but I suppose like many others, it will come to nothing—I am taking a great deal of pains to grow thin, but I dont think it succeeds. I have ever since I came here taken three long walks a day, and I eat a vast quantity of fruit, I have been obliged to leave off my first walk w^{ch} was from seven till nine because the weather is so bad and the Grass is so wet, that it is disagreeable I never in my life knew a place so dry. I beg pardon for this contradiction w^{ch} really is not one, and I think it the more extraordinary as we have a good deal of Brick Earth in the neighbourhood, and indeed we have one field that is rather that way inclined, but as to the rest tho' we have had perhaps the worst August that ever was yet in this month that I have been here, there litterally has been but one day that I have not been all round the Fields. We are all as fond of it as possible. It is surprizing the prejudices one contracts for, or against places, without ever having seen them this side of the country to be sure is not fashionable, and I myself could not believe that I should like it till I saw it, the case of Richmond is, that it was originally as fine a situation as could be, but it has been so much admired and lived at, that it is spoilt and as to Country Privy Garden is to the full as much so, but I am afraid I shall make you expect too much, therefore I desire you will think I am prejudiced—My father will stay about a fortnight at W. C. tho' I believe it will depend a good deal upon the Weather and indeed if it is very bad he

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will not go at all I shall be here, for tho' I have offer'd to stay with my Mother she will not let me, and as to my own pleasure I like this better, as I shall have four Horses and the Coach left to go to see her; I own for my part I should not be able to be so long without speaking to any one tho' C—— is in Town but she cant see him yet, and I doubt whether she lets any one else within the doors. It really is beyond my comprehension, how any one can bring themselves to like such a creature, and with what composure she speaks of him to my Father, and that any one can not only suffer him to come into the House, but be extremely civil to him. I vow if she was my wife it should not be so I am scolded almost every day, because I cannot for my life be civil but perhaps I have said too much already, at least I am afraid I have tired your patience therefore only beg of you to give my kindest love to Ham, and tell him I am not sure that I shall be satisfied with his good wishes *only* next winter but—

“Adieu ever Y^r most truly

“L. G.”

(Louisa Greville.)

Finally, I give three letters written by the Earl of Warwick himself. The first, from which I only take an extract, is addressed to Mrs. Hamilton, the first wife of the future Sir William Hamilton, our ambassador at Naples. Her name is scarcely so well known as that of her successor. It laments a death :—

“6 June 1766.

“We were at the Kings birthday which was very full, and had the pleasure to see Lady Spencer in high beauty both her Las^h and Lord Spencer looked in the best health. You will see in the Prints the death of a Dear friend and favorite of mine, Lady Sutherl^d, occasioned by her attendance and anxiety during a fever of above Six Weeks, in which her Lord still continues, without knowing his loss, and I humbly hope he never may, that one grave may unite them, and put an end to this tragedy, leaving a pleasing impression upon the minds of all, who shall ever hear of them, but most especially upon those who knew and loved them, saw them together, and were acquainted intimately (which was our case) with all the circumstances of that fatal illness, which has robbed us of one and made Death the most desirable thing for the other. We dread his recovery: There is an Infant daughter about a year old who we hope will represent them both and prevent the title from going to a collateral line.

“Madame Hamilton

“Naples, Italie.”

The next letter expresses a strong opinion on a political matter. The reference is obviously to the proceedings of John Wilkes; and the tone is hardly the tone that would have been taken by the earlier Grevilles:—

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LETTER FROM LORD WARWICK TO HIS BROTHER CHARLES.

[Extract.]

“The Spirit of Faction has done its worst it will consume its abettors and upholders as soon as us. we have lost as the newspapers say that *Finished Character* Lord Mayor, a few more out of the world what leaders have they? Remonstrances and petitions are wore out, yett ministry ought to be careful and prudent. what from my elbow chair to advise I know not but I see by experience too much Lenity produces Insolence, and is interpreted Timidity. in my opinion Power if not used when Proper is more an Incumbrance than a Good to those who are averse to make use of it. hence comes abuse and every continuation of Impertinence as also all Subordination obliterated or understood. I am no violent man you know it, but I hope Spirit is not yett quite over with me, yett had I to have had my will for the Dignity of Parlt. and example those members the Lord Mayor etc. should have suffered for what they said and all would have been better and the mobbing less. Have they been less violent and Insolent since? No surely.

“WARWICK.

“Tuesday June 26th 1770.”

The next letter is to Sir William Hamilton. It seems to result from it that this Earl of Warwick is entitled to claim the credit, for what it may be worth, of having been the first of his family to explore the

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Riviera. One hopes he had a pleasant time there ; but one fears he did not. Nice, as he might have learnt from the literary Scotch physician Dr. Tobias Smollett, was neither a clean nor an agreeable residence in those days:—

“St James’s Square 17th May 1771.

“I shall be very glad to see you and M^{rs} Hamilton when you come over as I shall leave it in autumn and go to Nice there to try what better air than this next Winter will do to brase up a relaxed Habit in this relaxed Country for was it not for that I should go on very well now as my Surgeon at Warwick told me I was not likely to dye but a piece of walking Catgut affected by every cloud which is too true. I have tryed Bathing in Salt Water and walk the Streets all Seasons yett all this will not do neither the Cold of Snow or the Heats of Rain agree with me. I look upon myself quite at Liberty to do what I like and it would be hard if I was hindered because everyone now makes use of that Privilege. But as L^d G is married and settled much to his and my satisfaction he is now a family man and may spare me. Charles and his brother are in a good tract in what they choose to pursue and yr old acquaintance Lady Louisa being also settled and a Mother of a fine a Boy as ever was seen what have I more to wish for or care for here. There when you return I will say no more *nous sommes pas connoissables* and everything round us the same *entre nous*, it is no



From a painting by J. B. Vanloo, 1753, at Warwick Castle.

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, WHO VISITED WARWICK CASTLE ABOUT 1768.

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joking matter or what will be the end thereof is impossible to foresee, we must be in fault, our Good King never would hurt us in any degree and if he is more than what is deemed right, self presentation will make it which we have a Right to expect somewhere. I scarce fear from the Popular. your Etruscan Antiquities as to shape are thrown about us by Wedgwoods imitations but allthro by what you see he does vary in General yett that old shine the Originals have he cannot in the copys express or find out how to do it but I hope by time this allso will be remedied for his looks very dull without it. I should have been glad to have heard from M^{rs} Hamilton as in yours you said she intended writing. We have all whilst they were strove to be grateful to the P and Pss Giustiniani for favors read by our Sons and Friends from there. They are both very amiable and agreeable and much liked here by every one. They might have been on a better footing here had it been well understood; however all went off well and they seemed pleased. Porter is allways at yr commands.

“Yrs most affectually

“WARWICK.”

The Earl's health could have derived no permanent advantage from his winter abroad; for he died on July 6th, 1773, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George.

CHAPTER XI

George Greville, Earl of Warwick, the Virtuoso—The Improvements effected by him at the Castle—The Warwick Vase—Correspondence on this Subject—Correspondence on other Subjects—The Visit to the Castle of George, Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Clarence.

GEORGE GREVILLE was Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle and Earl of Warwick from 1773 until his death, at the age of seventy, in 1816. At his baptism on October 6th, 1746, George II. was, by proxy, one of his sponsors. He matriculated in 1764 at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards at Edinburgh. From 1768 to 1773 he sat in Parliament as Member for Warwick. In 1771 he was made one of the Lords of Trade—a sinecure office, not long afterwards abolished, and then also enjoyed by Gibbon, who was engaged on his "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and with whom he must have had many tastes in common. In 1794 and 1795, when there was some reason to apprehend a French invasion, he was first Lieutenant-Colonel and then Colonel of the Warwickshire Fencibles, and in the last-named year he was Lord Lieutenant of the County.

His claim upon our interest, however, is quite independent of his public services. He was the great virtuoso of his house, and he did more for the

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embellishment of the Castle than any other of its occupants since the time of Sir Fulke Greville. He made this his life's work, in fact, as may be read in "A Narrative of the peculiar case of the Late Earl of Warwick from his Lordship's own Manuscript. London, 1816."

"Employed as I was," he writes, "in reading, chiefly on farming concerns, in hunting and planting, I saw great temptations to improve Warwick Castle, and for the greatest part of my life I steadily pursued this object"; and he adds that the estate, by a fortunate accident, provided the means for its own improvement, for "It happened that a most valuable coal-mine had been discovered by Mr. Vancouver on my Warwick Estate."

Everything, when George Greville came into his inheritance, was out of repair. He tells what he did not only to put it in order, but to enhance its natural beauties by the help of art:—

"The floors, the windows, the ceilings, the chimney pieces, the wainscots, the furniture are all put in by me, and they are the most beautiful in the kingdom.

"I collected a matchless collection of pictures by Vandyke, Rubens, etc.

"The marbles are not equalled, perhaps in the kingdom.

"I made a noble approach to the Castle, thro' a solid rock; built a porter's Lodge; made a kitchen garden and a very extensive pleasure garden, a book room, full of books, some valuable and scarce, all well chosen.

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“I made an armoury ; and built walls round the courts and pleasure garden.

“I built a noble greenhouse, and filled it with beautiful plants.



From a picture at Warwick Castle by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.

GEORGE GREVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, WHEN A BOY.

“I placed in it a Vase, considered as the finest remains of Grecian art extant for size and beauty.

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"I made a noble lake, from three hundred to six hundred feet broad and a mile long.

"I built a stone bridge of one hundred and five feet in span, every stone from two thousand to three thousand eight hundred pounds weight.

"I gave the bridge to the Town."

The vase above referred to, known to all students of ancient art as the Warwick Vase,¹ is the object of the curiosity as well as the admiration of all visitors to the Castle, so that some exact information about it will, no doubt, be welcomed. It was found, says that excellent little guide-book "Warwick Castle and Town," "in 1770, during excavations carried on in the bed of a small lake, called Pantanello, overlooking the Vale of Tempe, near Tivoli, sixteen miles from Rome. How it came there is not known. Hadrian's villa was occupied by the Ostro-Gothic

¹ The following extract from a letter by Sir William Hamilton to Mr. Milne relating to the vase is given in Spicer's "History of Warwick Castle":—

"The great marble Vase, of which I believe I gave you an account, and which was found in fragments at the bottom of a lake at Adrian's villa, I have had restored, and Piranesi is engraving three views of it. There is nothing of the kind so beautiful, not even at Rome. It has cost me above £300 in putting it together. I mean to offer it to the Museum, paying my costs; but if they refuse it, I will not take less than £600 for it. Keep it I cannot, as I shall never have a house big enough for it. Adieu, yours sincerely,
(Signed) "W. HAMILTON."

The greenhouse in which this exquisite monument of antiquity is kept was built expressly for the occasion by an architect of Warwick; the front is executed in stone, and the area of the building is of such size as to afford abundant light and space to view the noble proportions of the vase.

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King, Totila, 540 A.D., when he laid siege to Rome, and the vase may have been cast into the lake to save it from the invaders. The villa was finished about 138 A.D., but this work is of an earlier date, and is attributed to Lysippus of Sicyon, a Greek artist of the close of the 4th century B.C., when the beautiful or elegant style began to replace the noble severity of Phidias and his school. The vase is of white marble, and is circular in form. It is 5 ft. 6 in. high and 5 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the lip, and is placed on a square pedestal of modern construction. The handles are formed of pairs of vine stems, the smaller branches of which twine round the upper lip, and, with drooping bunches of grapes, form a symmetrical frieze. The lower rim is covered by two tiger or panther skins, of which the heads and the forepaws adorn the sides of the vase, while the hind legs interlace and hang down between the handles. Arranged along the tiger skins are several heads, all except one being those of Sileni, or male attendants of Bacchus, and the single exception being a female head, probably that of a Bacchante or Faun. Between the heads are *thyrsi* or bacchic staves twined round with ivy and vine shoots and *litui*, or augural wands, used in taking omens."

The capacity of the vase is 163 gallons, and it has been disputed whether it was meant for festive or merely for decorative purposes. It has been restored, and the work, including a head, is probably the work of Nollekens—at least that opinion

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has been advanced by competent judges. The inscription runs thus :—

HOC PRISTINÆ ARTIS
ROMANÆQ. MAGNIFICENTÆ MONUMENTUM
RUDERIBUS VILLÆ TIBURTINÆ
HADRIANO AUG. IN DELICIIIS HABITÆ, EFFOSSUM
RESTITUI CURAVIT
EQUES GULIELMUS HAMILTON,
A GEORGIO III. MAG. BRIT. REGE.
AD SICIL. REGEM FERDINANDUM IV. LEGATUS;
ET IN PATRIAM TRANSMISSUM
PATRIO ROMARUM ARTIUM GENIO DICAUIT
AN. DOM. MDCCLXXIV.

Sir William Hamilton was of much assistance to the Earl of Warwick in the formation of his unique collection of works of art. Reference to these mingle with references to other matters in their correspondence. The reference to Fox in the first letter is interesting :—

LORD WARWICK TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

“Jan. 5. 1775.

“Your Venus is in my House in Charles’s apartment.

“The great failures of late in Holland as I am told will draw terrible consequences after them and do not only private Houses great mischief but also affect the whole Living above what one can afford and launching out into other concerns than our own



From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE GREAT VASE, WARWICK CASTLE.

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concerns Produces Ruin of Late Years every where and yett so many examples does not make us wiser.

“Lord North is invisible to those he is sure of the others he cannot help seeing. this taking it of Charles Fox has been too refined a stroke of Politicks for me to unravel it has done a deal more harm with the publick than I can express. Jealousy I believe of Lord Gower's friends being an overmatch for him prevailed but I do not see the least confidence he can have from Charles Fox who already has established a character.

“Yours most affectly WARWICK.”

The second letter deals solely with the improvements :—

“I am going on by degrees to furnish other Rooms at W. Castle. It is an expensive work and must be done with care as I should spoil the whole was I to put in light modern Furniture. But what I put in must be handsome tho' in a particular style—Fine Portraits are what I particularly desire to have, and some very fine ones I now have but not enough, should you ever see any well painted agreeable head or half length in old dresses I should be much obliged to you to purchase them for me. . . . I am at present at W with my little Boy he is perfectly well and I really have very little to wish in regard to him and hope to convince you that he has no inconsiderable taste for the arts; tho' I must own that notwithstanding his turn for Music

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and Painting that his favorite pursuit is Carpentership in which he is a proficient.

“Westdean. Aug. 20 1779.”

The third is mainly on the same subject. It is written after a visit paid to the Castle by Sir William Hamilton during the Earl's absence :—

LORD WARWICK TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

“I am glad you have been at W Castle even tho' I was not so happy as to be your conductor. I am flattered by your opinion of it and that it did not appear to you that I had done anything to spoil it. The Effect w^h I want to produce must in a great measure depend on time for young Plantations do not seem to belong to that old Castle which should have Forrests of ancient Timber to accompany it. . . . I have now furnished the House except that I want chairs for the Cedar Room and what we used to call Dogs for the fire places, perhaps at Paris both these may be had. I have velvet which I had made from the Pattern of the Chairs in the first Room and which was very old. Crimson Black Green and White. The Richest thing I ever saw. . . . I can assure you it is almost worth while a Journey here to see my youngest daughter, I am sure you would think her one of the most perfect creatures in looks and manners you ever saw. . . .

“Worthing Steyning

“Aug. 21 1779.”

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Other Greville letters, of various dates, and relating to various subjects, belonging to the period which seem worth publishing are the following :—

[Extract, undated letter.]

LORD WARWICK TO HIS BROTHER CHARLES.

“ I was yesterday at the Levée and had an opportunity of speaking to his Majesty, who expressed a great regard to us—and spoke of Rob^t. I (tho’ contrary to form) then mentioned the wish I had of his being in the Guards to which many of his Friends have advised him and the K. added he had a great regard for him and his brothers—I thought I had gone too far and could not make any more demands. . . . I have no object but to keep etc. in a proper manner and I assure you that I cannot spend the money in any way so agreeably to myself as in contributing to your satisfaction. . . . I have several pictures which will do admirably with the little ones at W. C. But my difficulty is what to hang them on. . . . I have had the statue extremely well attended to not only the hands but one of y^e legs by a very clever young man from Rome.

“Yours most sincerely

“WARWICK.”

CHARLES F. GREVILLE TO ROBERT F. GREVILLE.

[No date.]

“The idea of building ships of war was not

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known and talked of till Saunder and Barralleur were lately with me at Milford, when I marked on the ground all the Dockyard and Batteries. The minute my Back was turned to C. Howard, a Vigorous opposition to my Plans was set on foot reference to naval people for opinions etc. The particulars I know not, but you may suppose how much plague I saved myself by my conducting the whole as I have done, and tho I knew the delay at the Admiralty to be due to the hurry of business leaving such articles in the baskett, yet the delay certainly gave time for ill nature and counteraction to work I now am clear. I am beyond all reach of interception and have wrote to S^r A. Hammond Comptroller of Navy (who has uniformly been very civil) and to Ld. Spencer. The Frigate is to be called Lavinia the 74 Milford. . . .

“Yrs aff^{ly}

“C. F. GREVILLE.”

ROBERT GREVILLE TO HIS BROTHER CHARLES.

“By yesterday’s Papers I see that Lord Gage is dead. This of course will make a vacancy for Warwick; which in all human probability will not affect either you or me. You I am sorry to think certainly not, and to myself, tho’ barely possible, yet my prospect approaches a shade only nearer.

“Friday 14 Oct. 1791.”

Multon Sept. 3rd 1803

My Dear Lord

I feel very much obliged by
the favor of your letter and although
I am no judge of mechanism yet I will
say your invention for making cannon
range their shot farther than at present
will answer your expectation and on
shore in particular it will be most
useful, Woolwich is the only place
where such experiments can be fairly
tried by Scientific men, on board ship
our work is byt as close as possible
Earl Warwick.

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY LORD NELSON TO
GEORGE GREVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK.

by which I think we suffer less and
the Enemy than by Long Night and
Journeys endeaour to inculcate the
doctrine get close and you will be a
victor. I rather think I shall be dining
by forth before your Lordship comes
I Town for the Winter if I am not I
shall take an early opportunity
of paying you my personal respects
Being your Lordships most
faithful & obedient servant
Richard Brooke

THIS LETTER, RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT WARWICK CASTLE, HAS
NEVER BEFORE BEEN PUBLISHED.

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SAME TO SAME.

“Jan. 3. 1788.

“The Duke of Queensbury was at the Levee yesterday with Colonne, who has been presented and was at the Drawing Room today—I enjoyed the two Financiers, Himself and Pitt in conversation. The P. spoke much to him. Hearing He was at Court I desired Barthelemy to point Him out to me—He spied Him at a distance and said *le voila en velours qui vous tourne le dos*—Mac: archly replied? *Mon cher Mons^r Barthel: vous vous trompez c'est sur vous qu'il tourne le-dos.*

“Miss H . . . n your neighbour is enrolled, and enters on the boards at Richmond House in the character of Isabella in the Wonder—The confession was made, but not designedly nor willingly in Mansfield Street to my M. who by no means approves, nor has any body I have heard of among her relations except Her Mother—who I now find is more completely the reigning sovereign than I could have suspected.”

LADY ELIZABETH, DOWAGER-COUNTESS OF WARWICK,
TO HER SON ROBERT.

“Chelsea Augst 4 1797.

“MY DEAR ROBERT—

“The every good tiding of you must always be welcome to me, I never had more satisfaction than by yr Letter dated 31^t of July. The whole gave me content, and your state of mind and the situation

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you are I hope so near being settled in, afford you the most seasonable expectation of happiness in as much as can be the allotment to human nature in this Life. These my dear Son will be your Lot if Wishes, Blessings, Prayers of a Parent have any avail. . . . It is without gloom that I am present busily employ'd in fitting up the House I am to Rent on Richmond Green, where I mean to seclude myself in some degree, and thus gradually to effect 'that my latter end may be, decent, calm, and silent.'

“Yr affectionate Mother,

“E. WARWICK.”

One other event of the period arrests attention. It is not surprising that Warwick Castle, thus embellished, was visited, once again, by royalty. We have already recorded the visits of Henry V., Queen Elizabeth, James I., and William III., and noted that of Frederick, Prince of Wales. It remains to record the visit of George IV. (then Prince of Wales) and William IV. (then Duke of Clarence) in 1806. My account is extracted from the *Morning Chronicle* of September 9th in that year:—

“Ragley, Monday, Sept. 8.

“On Saturday the Prince of Wales, Duke of Clarence, Lord and Lady Hertford, &c. set out in 2 landaus and four, to view Warwick Castle. Their Royal Highnesses were met at Warwick by the Volunteers and Yeomanry, commanded by Lord Clonmel, and received on the Castle steps by Lord

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Brooke and the Honourable Col. Greville. A deputation from the Mayor and Corporation immediately attended at the Castle, to entreat his Royal Highness would condescend to receive their humble Address of Congratulation upon his safe arrival in that Borough, which his Royal Highness, with that gracious condescension that belongs to him, was pleased to accept; and the Corporate Body was thus afforded the gratification of beholding their Prince, and of hearing from himself sentiments of respect, delivered with that dignity and affability, the peculiar gift of his Royal Highness. The following are the address and answer :

“ ‘ May it please your Royal Highness,

“ ‘ We, the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of this ancient Borough of Warwick, beg leave, with the most profound humility, to congratulate your Royal Highness on your safe arrival in this Borough; and to approach your Royal Highness with the utmost respect and deference, sincerely assuring you of our unfeigned reverence and veneration for your Royal Highness’s Illustrious Person and Family.

“ ‘ Warwick, Sept. 6. 1806.’

“ To which his Royal Highness was pleased to return the following answer :

“ ‘ Mr. Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Warwick,

“ ‘ It affords me peculiar satisfaction to receive this mark of your attention, as well as the expressions



After the picture by R. Cosway, R.A.

GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES, AFTERWARDS KING GEORGE IV., WHO WITH HIS BROTHER, THE DUKE OF CLARENCE, VISITED WARWICK CASTLE IN 1806.

of your attachment to my person and the rest of my family; and I beg leave to assure you of the high respect I entertain for this very ancient Borough.'

"The venerable castle could not fail to produce those effects in his Royal Highness's mind, of which his exquisite taste must ever make him susceptible; the state of preservation, the beauty of every surrounding feature, the judgment exhibited in the improvements of the noble possessor, excited his great admiration, and the awful magnificence of this ancient pile from the river, was beheld with wonder. His Royal Highness went through all the apartments, and viewed, *en virtuoso*, the valuable collection of pictures which have been from time to time placed in this noble residence, the whole arrangement of which was in perfect character with the sublime antiquity of the structure.

"An elegant Collation was prepared for their Royal Highnesses, and the horns of ale were seen in constant supply to the surrounding happy multitude; every possible mark of veneration and respect was paid by the young Lord to the Royal Visitors, who were pleased to express, in strong terms, the delight they had experienced, and the sense they entertained of his Lordship's attention, when they took their leave amidst crowds of admiring spectators; the whole county was assembled, in Warwick, to behold the Royal Brothers, who greeted their arrival in tones of undisguised rejoicing. Their Royal Highnesses returned to a late dinner at Ragley."

CHAPTER XII

Henry Richard Greville, Earl of Warwick—The Visit to the Castle of the Dowager-Queen Adelaide.

GEORGE GREVILLE, Earl of Warwick, was twice married. His first wife was Georgiana, only daughter of Sir James Peachy, first Lord Selsey, described in one of the letters as “a lady of superior mental endowments, young, beautiful and virtuous, possessed of a heart, the exact counterpart of his lordship’s.” She died, at the age of twenty, on April 1st, 1772, and was buried at St. Mary’s, Warwick. Her only son, George Greville, styled sometime Lord Greville, but afterwards Lord Brooke, born on March 25th, 1772, died unmarried and a minor, on May 2nd, 1786, at Winkton, near Christchurch, aged fourteen.

The Earl’s second wife, whom he married in 1776, at the house of Earl Gower, Whitehall, St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, was Henrietta, daughter of Richard Vernon, of Hilton, in the county of Stafford, by Evelyn, Dowager-Countess of Upper Ossory, daughter of John, first Earl Gower. Her children were Henry Richard, who succeeded to the Earldom; Major-General Sir Charles John Greville, K.C.B., who died unmarried in 1836; Robert, who died, aged twenty, in 1802; Elizabeth, who died in 1806; Henrietta, who married Thomas, second Earl of Clonmel, and died in

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1858; Caroline, who died in 1844; Augusta, who married Heneage, fifth Earl of Aylesford, and died in 1845; Charlotte, who died in 1867; and Louisa, who died in 1869.

Henry Richard Greville, the third Earl of the House of Greville, born on March 29th, 1799, held many offices, mainly of a decorative character. He was Colonel of the Birmingham Volunteers in 1799; Member for the County from 1802 until his accession to the title; Colonel of the Warwickshire Militia in 1803; Recorder of Warwick from 1816 to 1832; Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire in 1822; K.T. on May 10th, 1827; Lord of the Bedchamber from July to November, 1830; D.C.L. of Oxford in 1834; and Lord-in-Waiting from 1841 to 1846. He married, in 1816, Sarah Elizabeth, Dowager-Baroness Monson, daughter of John, second Earl of Mexborough, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Stephenson, by whom he had one son, George Guy, the fourth Earl; and died at Warwick Castle on August 10th, 1853, aged seventy-four.

The most important event in the history of Warwick Castle during his period is another royal visit—that of the Dowager-Queen Adelaide in 1839. I cannot do better than give a long extract of the description of the event printed in our local paper, the *Warwickshire Advertiser*. The reporter's narrative is as follows:—

“Yesterday morning our ancient and loyal town displayed a spirit of very unusual bustle; the people

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From a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., at Warwick Castle.

GEORGE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, WHO DIED AT THE AGE OF FOURTEEN.

were actively moving in every direction ; the old and young—male and female—the rich and the poor, the gay and the sedate, all appeared full of anticipation. It was the day appointed for the arrival of the Queen

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Dowager on a visit to the Earl and Countess of Warwick, at their magnificent baronial seat—under the same venerable roof that once received that mighty sovereign, the maiden Queen of England, Elizabeth, and her noble train of courtly knights and ladies, while the neighbouring Kenilworth was still in the height of its splendour.

“By a requisition to the Mayor, signed by many inhabitants of the town, a meeting was convened at the Court House, on Wednesday, for the purpose of considering the best mode of evincing the loyalty and respect of the inhabitants towards the Queen Dowager, on her approaching visit. The Mayor having taken the chair, the meeting appointed a Committee for forming and conducting the necessary arrangements; and the next day by a printed handbill, which was extensively circulated through the town, such of the inhabitants as intended to meet Her Majesty on her arrival at the town were requested to form themselves into a procession in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, and to be in attendance at half-past one o’clock.

“The third and fourth troops of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry (commanded by Captains Wise and Greenway) were ordered to assemble on the Butts, at one o’clock, in readiness for further orders.

“At the middle of the day the people began to assemble in crowds at the entrance of the town, from the Coventry Road, and the scene became more and more exciting as the expected hour of Her Majesty’s arrival more nearly approached.

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“We will now proceed to describe ‘the progress’ of the royal visitor, and her reception by the people, as she passed on the way.

“Her Majesty left Gospall Hall, the seat of Earl Howe, and was escorted by the Earl of Aylesford’s troop of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry (Captain Chetwynd) through Coventry and Kenilworth. In the ancient city of ‘our good Lady Godiva’ Her Majesty’s presence was hailed by loud acclamations from multitudes of the assembled people, and at the smaller but not less renowned town of Kenilworth the voice of loyalty and the shouts of welcome and respect were equally fervid and gratifying.

“At Gibbet Hill, between Kenilworth and Coventry, that excellent nobleman Lord Leigh, at the head of his numerous tenantry, amounting to nearly one hundred, all on horseback, met the royal party and conducted them to Guy’s Cliff. At this romantic and historically interesting spot were waiting numerous carriages of the nobility and gentry of the county, with Lord Willoughby de Broke at the head of his tenantry; Sir John Mordaunt, Bart., M.P., and his tenantry; the tenantry of G. Lucy, Esq., of Charlecote, accompanied by his brother, the Rev. J. Lucy; the tenantry of the Rev. H. Wise, of Offchurch; and, last but not least, the agricultural tenantry of the Earl of Warwick; all the tenantry, of course, being on horseback. They formed a numerous body, in addition to between two and three hundred carriages; and all being arranged in marching order, the splendid cavalcade

proceeded towards the town. It was now nearly four o'clock, and the crowds of people increased in number and anxiety for the arrival of the expected procession. At length the sound of many voices was distinctly heard in the Coventry Road, within a quarter of a mile from the town, and 'They are coming—they are coming!' was heard on every side.

"Just out of the town, on the road-side, thirty waggons were placed, 'all in a row,' decorated with a profusion of laurel and other evergreens, interspersed with flowers of the season. In these waggons were small banners, inscribed with the expressive words 'Welcome, Adelaide!' each of the vehicles being occupied by the delighted children of the following Schools:—'The Infant School,' 'The National School,' 'The Greville School,' 'The School of Industry,' 'St. Nicholas' Sunday School,' and 'The Brook-street School;' and in the last waggons were the poor children from the Union Workhouse.—This was the first point of interest and attraction as Her Majesty entered the town. No sooner did the royal carriage approach the spot than the happy juveniles, standing triumphantly in their green waggons, raised their hundreds of happy voices in one loud shout of joyful acclamation.—Her Majesty graciously acknowledged the compliment, and was equally gratified and affected by this burst of hearty welcome from the ever-musical voices of happy children. Age, manhood, and youth, hailed her also with loud huzzas as the procession passed onward. At St. John's brook a lofty arch

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was raised across the road, and was richly covered with laurel. On the side of this arch towards Her



From a miniature by G. Hayter.

SARAH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK, DAUGHTER OF JOHN, EARL OF MEXBOROUGH.

Majesty, as she entered, was inscribed, in letters of gold, 'Welcome, Adelaide!' and on the other side,

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‘Long live Queen Adelaide!’ Having passed under the triumphal arch, the splendid cavalcade, amid the applauses of the thousands assembled, proceeded along the Lower Church Street to the Castle gate, where Her Majesty and her suite entered, under the escort of the 1st troop of Yeomanry Cavalry.

“We must not omit to state that the Mayor of Warwick (J. Twamley, Esq.) joined the procession on horseback to conduct Her Majesty into the town.

“In readiness to receive the Royal Visitor, in the courtyard of the Castle, were the staff of the Warwickshire Militia (of which the Earl of Warwick is Colonel), under the command of Captain Brockman, with the third and fourth troops of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry, commanded by Captains Wise and Greenway, attended by their Colonel, the Earl of Aylesford. As Her Majesty’s carriage approached the entrance door, the troops, arranged in a line, presented their arms.

“The carriages, consisting of five, passed through the line, and drove up to the Castle in the following order:—

“1st. Earl Howe, Chamberlain, and the Earl of Denbigh, Master of the Horse, to Her Majesty.

“2nd. The Queen Dowager and Lady Clinton.

“3rd. The Countess of Denbigh, her Ladyship’s daughter (Lady Mary Fielding), and Miss Mitchell.

“4th. Sir Horace Seymour and the Rev. Mr. Wood, Her Majesty’s Chaplain.

“5th. Her Majesty’s Attendants.



After a picture by G. Robertson.

WARWICK CASTLE, 1819.

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“As Her Majesty entered the Courtyard, under the fine old gateway by Guy’s Tower, the bugles of the Yeomanry gave welcome to the Royal stranger, and the sounds echoed among the massive towers and vaults of the Castle, producing a beautiful and sublime effect.

“On Her Majesty alighting from her carriage, she was received by the Countess of Warwick, with whom she shook hands, and the noble Earl, being at the door, was instantly in attendance; Her Majesty took his Lordship’s arm. Supported by his Lordship on one side and by her Ladyship on the other, the Queen Dowager, evidently gratified in the highest degree by her cordial reception, entered the Castle of ancient renown, to which this was her first visit.

“After Her Majesty had passed into the Castle, Earl Howe addressed the Earl of Aylesford, speaking in the most gratifying terms of the excellent discipline of the Yeomanry, assuring the noble Colonel that he had never witnessed, in any regiment, with the exception of the regulars, such superior appearance and order in their military movements. The Earl of Aylesford desired Adjutant Miller to communicate this high compliment to the troops, and the worthy Adjutant made the communication with great pleasure and satisfaction.

“The Earl and Countess of Aylesford, in addition to Her Majesty and suite, dined with the Earl and Countess of Warwick yesterday; and we understand that Lord and Lady Willoughby de Broke, Lord and

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Lady Leigh, Lord Eastnor, and other noble personages, will dine at the Castle to-day.

“During the afternoon, and until a late hour last evening, the bells of the Parish Churches rang merrily, and the town was all life and gaiety.

“From the Churches and Public Buildings, at the Hotels, and at many of the private residences of the inhabitants, the Union Jack and crimson flags were displayed; and hundreds of the spectators of the procession wore rosettes of crimson ribbon in honour of the day.

“In the evening there were several illuminations. At the Leicester Hospital, over the arch at the Chapel, in High Street, was displayed the word ‘Adelaide,’ in the transparent Lamps; and in the square, within the interior of the building, were the letters ‘A.R.’ in coloured lamps. At the front of the Warwick Arms Hotel was a splendid crown over the door, with ‘A.R.’ displayed in coloured Lamps at the sides—the two gas lamps at the front being covered with laurel, and having a crimson flag waving from each. At the Swan Hotel an accident prevented an intended and very appropriate illumination.

“It affords us great pleasure to state at the Union Workhouse the poor were plentifully supplied in the evening with ale, for the aged and hale men and women (and pipes for the men), to drink Her Majesty’s health; and that the younger branches of the paupers were treated with music and dancing, in honour of the occasion.”

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One notes with pleasure that even the poorest of the poor were thus enabled to enjoy themselves. Nor were cakes and ale the only advantages they derived from Queen Adelaide's visit. "We have authority to state," says the *Advertiser*, "that Her Majesty, before leaving Warwick Castle, caused £50 to be placed in the hands of the Rev. John Boudier, desiring that sum to be expended in supplying needy old females with warm winter cloaks."

The reporter proceeds to describe how her Majesty went to church :—

"On Sunday morning last Her Majesty attended Divine Service at St. Mary's Church, where a Sermon was preached by the Rev. John Boudier, the Vicar. A crowded congregation was in attendance, and all were highly delighted by the affable and condescending demeanour of the Queen Dowager. From the principal entrance of the Church up the aisle to the Earl of Warwick's pew was covered with crimson cloth, over which Her Majesty walked, leaning on the arm of the Earl of Warwick, the Countess of Warwick and Lady Clinton and the rest of the distinguished party following immediately after. After the service the people, all anxious to pay their loyal respects to the Queen Dowager, pressed towards the aisle, and as Her Majesty left the pew and departed from the Church she most graciously bowed to all as she passed down towards the door, giving delight to the spectators, and appearing herself highly gratified."

And then comes the account of the departure :—

● The House of Greville

“On Tuesday morning, soon after 10 o'clock, Her Majesty and the noble attendants took leave of the noble family at the Castle, having been most highly gratified by her visit to the Earl and Countess of Warwick, from whom she parted with evident regret. We fancied we could easily trace this feeling in the expression of her features, as the Royal Visitor passed under the gate-way from the Court-yard, after she had left the magnificent and hospitable abode—perhaps for ever!”

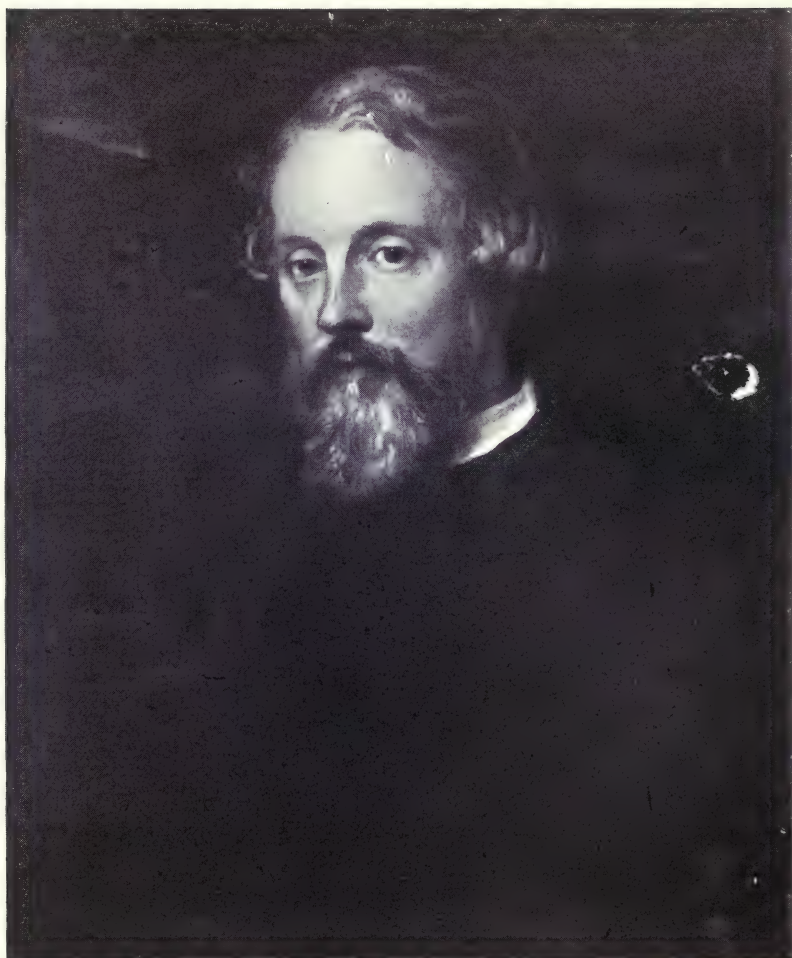
One further fact about Henry Richard Greville should be noted. He was the last Earl of Warwick to hold the office of Recorder, retiring from that position in 1835 in consequence of the enactment that a Recorder must be a barrister of five years' standing.

CHAPTER XIII

George Guy Greville, Fourth Earl—His Opposition to Free Trade—The Visit to the Castle of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert—The Great Fire of December, 1871—The Expressions of Sympathy—The Work of Restoration—The Death of the Fourth Earl.

WITH the accession of George Guy Greville to Earldoms of Warwick and Brooke, we come to a period within the memory of the majority of my readers. But, as my book is to be the complete history of Warwick Castle, I cannot consider myself exempt from speaking of it.

It is a period which, in the first place, gives us the opportunity of remarking the complete disappearance of those Liberal tendencies which we have found so conspicuous in the most famous of the earlier representatives of the house. Having taken his degree at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1839, Lord Warwick, then Lord Brooke, sat in the House of Commons as the Member for South Warwickshire from 1845 till 1853. During the whole of that period he made only one speech, and that was in favour of the Corn Laws. He remained, indeed, a Protectionist to the last, though he took no active steps to promote the policy which he favoured. "Lord Warwick," said



From a picture by George Frederick Watts, R.A., at Warwick Castle.

GEORGE GUY GREVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK.

Warwick Castle

the writer of the obituary notice in the *Times*, "has played but a small part in public affairs, preferring those quieter but not less useful local duties which his high position entailed. His relations with his tenantry were of the most friendly kind, and in recent years of acute agricultural depression, when many owners had large tracts of their estates on their hands, his land was always let. He was equally solicitous of the welfare of his labourers, and long before the allotment question became political the labourers on his estate enjoyed the privilege of renting allotment ground." The same writer adds that "Lord Warwick was the official head of the County Agricultural Society, and when that society was placed in imminent danger of dissolution some years ago by the serious losses entailed by the failure of the Greenway Bank, he came forward and headed a subscription list to recoup the losses sustained."

One great ceremonial event distinguishes this period. The Earl of Warwick had the honour of receiving a visit from her late Majesty Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. For the description of this event I must once more avail myself of the file of the *Warwickshire Advertiser*. The date is June 19th, 1858:—

"Her Majesty was received by the Earl and Countess of Warwick, accompanied by Lord Brooke (who presented the Queen with a beautiful bouquet) and the Masters Greville. These juvenile members of Lord Warwick's family were each saluted by Her

Majesty, as well as by most of the distinguished visitors, and their pleasing appearance attracted the notice of every one present. The Royal party immediately went to the State rooms, after inspecting which they partook of luncheon in the Banqueting-room. The table was loaded with profuse rarities, and the most costly and elegant gold service. There were twenty-eight chairs of antique pattern, trimmed with fine old brocade. Upon two magnificent sideboards were ranged a superb display of the pieces of plate won by his lordship's horses. One of these, a beautiful salver, was run for at Liverpool in 1845, and was given for turf competition to commemorate the zeal displayed by the late Lord George Bentinck in suppressing malpractices on the turf. The State chair was a richly gilded frame, cushioned and backed with crimson silk velvet.

“Whilst the Royal and illustrious guests were partaking of Earl Warwick's hospitality in the Grand Saloon, the humbler people in the Castle were not neglected. The cellars were open for the servants and *attachés* of all the visitors, and the most considerate and unbounded entertainment was afforded to those who needed it.

“Subsequently the Royal party went over the Castle grounds, and Her Majesty graciously visited the recently erected additions to the Castle, and made various enquiries as to the use of the several new parts. Prince Albert, who was dressed and looked like a good English gentleman, quietly observed the

Warwick Castle ♀

many valuable armorial relics and paid great attention to many of the artistic treasures with which the rooms abound. Back again to the courtyard, the Queen again took the Earl of Warwick's arm and slowly walked across the fine lawn, upon which the Yeomanry band was stationed. As the Queen and the Earl passed down the lawn, Her Majesty enquired for the Prince Consort, and was informed that his Royal Highness was climbing the famous Guy Tower. The Queen then passed on under the beautiful cedars, elms, yews, and other trees, until her arrival at the Greenhouse, in which is the celebrated 'Warwick Vase.' Here were two reporters from illustrated London papers and our own representative, whose presence was graciously permitted by Her Majesty. Prince Albert having descended from the Tower expressed the pleasure he had experienced. The Royal party then went towards the river, underneath the beautiful cedars, and on a lovely slope the Queen handed her parasol to the Marchioness of Westminster and planted an oak, which she took from the hand of Lord Warwick. Prince Albert at a suitable distance planted a 'Wellingtonia.' The Royal party, after the planting had been performed, returned to the Castle."

More than thirty years afterwards—in 1892—the same Earl of Warwick had again the honour of receiving royal visitors. The Prince of Wales—his present gracious Majesty King Edward VII.—and the Duke of York (now Prince of Wales) honoured



From a drawing made at the time.

THE VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT TO WARWICK CASTLE IN 1858. HER MAJESTY PLANTING AN OAK

Warwick Castle ♡

Warwick Castle by staying there at the time of the Agricultural Show. Between these two auspicious events, however, another event of a very different, and indeed a very lamentable, character had occurred. On the morning of December 4th, 1871, the *Times* contained the following startling item of news:—

“DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT WARWICK CASTLE.

“Warwick Castle, the grand old baronial mansion of the Earl of Warwick, at an early hour yesterday morning was the scene of a terrible and destructive conflagration. The Castle is familiar to every tourist; and the rare pictures, the Gobelin tapestries, and the unique art treasures which abounded in every apartment rendered it attractive alike to the artist and the antiquary. The fire was discovered about half-past one o'clock on Sunday morning by the steward-room boy, Joseph Powers, and the footmen, William Everton and William Gregory. They slept in apartments in the basements of the Castle, and were awoken by a noise which they at first conjectured was caused by hail falling on the boot-hall, opposite to the room where they were sleeping. The sounds becoming louder, they then imagined some one must be attempting to break into the Castle, and got up to see what really was the matter. They soon discovered that the building was on fire, and volumes of smoke were rolling out of Lady Warwick's apartments, which were



From a drawing made at the time.

THE FIRE AT WARWICK CASTLE, DECEMBER 3RD, 1871.

Warwick Castle

on the second floor, overlooking the River Avon. On entering her ladyship's sitting-room they saw here a mass of flames. An alarm was raised, and messengers were despatched to Leamington, Kenilworth, and Coventry for assistance. The Warwick Fire Brigade, under the direction of Captain Glover and Lieutenant Pritchard, was speedily on the spot, and the Leamington Brigade arrived shortly after. The flames had, however, made such rapid progress that the destruction of the whole building seemed inevitable. The front part of the Castle was inaccessible from its great height above the river, and consequently the burning structure could only be played upon from the courtyard, where there was only a supply of water to be obtained from a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -inch main. So quick was the progress of the flames that the whole east wing between the grand entrance-hall and the domestic offices adjoining Cæsar and Guy's Towers was speedily gutted, and only the outer walls and the charred and smouldering rubbish remain. These apartments consisted, on the ground floor, of the waiting-room and library, overlooking the courtyard, and the breakfast-room, his lordship's room, and Lady Warwick's boudoir, looking out upon the river. On the second floor were the ladies-maids' rooms, Lady Warwick's bedroom and dressing-room, and Lord Warwick's dressing-room. These looked out upon the courtyard, and overlooking the river were the White Room, the Red Bedroom, and the Leather Bedroom and Dressing-room. The furniture and contents of these apartments were almost



From a coloured print.

THE EARL OF WARWICK AS THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

entirely destroyed. The only things saved were a few of the most valuable pictures and some books, in spite of every exertion made, it being impossible to check the flames until the whole of this wing was completely destroyed. Meanwhile the fire was leaping across the grand staircase and attacking the hall, with its gorgeously carved Gothic roof, emblazoned with heraldic devices, its floor of Venetian marble, and its curious antique wainscoting, hung round with armour, swords, and matchlocks. Here was Cromwell's battered helmet and the doublet in which Lord Brooke died at Lichfield. It also contained antiques and fossil antlers of the elk and deer, old statues, ancient tombs, and other curiosities. These have all perished. Along the richly carved roof, executed in 1857 from designs by Mr. Poynter, the flames fast spread, and the panelled wooden walls proved equally inflammable. The magnificent apartment, 62 ft. by 40 ft. and 26 ft. in height, was soon a mass of flame. The roof, which was thickly covered with lead, fell in, and there remain only the bare blackened walls of one of the finest halls in the kingdom. A nursery and apartments over the entrance gateway, and also a dining-room by the side of the Great Hall, erected a few years ago by Lord Warwick, were also destroyed, but a portion of their contents was saved. The fire raged so fiercely at 4 o'clock that it was feared all the efforts of the firemen, which had been directed to cut it off from the rest of the apartments, would prove fruitless. Through the chinks between the massive doors separating the

➤ The House of Greville

Great Hall and the Red Drawing-room the flames could be seen, and the stifling smoke forced its way



From the painting by Raphael at Warwick Castle.

QUEEN JOANNA OF NAPLES.

through every aperture. Preparations were therefore made for the worst, by stripping this and the adjoining

Warwick Castle

apartments of their costly and almost priceless treasures. The pictures by Rembrandt, Vandyke, and Rubens were borne carefully to a place of safety, and when every portable article of value was removed, still further precautions were deemed necessary. The Gilt Drawing-room, the State Bedroom, and the State Dressing-room were also cleared of their principal contents. The tapestry round the State Bedroom, made in Brussels in 1694, was wrenched from the wall and carried to a place of security, together with the portraits of 'Queen Anne,' by Kneller, the 'Earl of Essex,' by Zuccherò, and other rare paintings. The pictures by Holbein, Rubens, Vandyke, Titian, Salvator Rosa, Sir Peter Lely, and Caracci's 'Dead Christ' were also taken down. The costly tables and treasures in the cabinets were carried to the remotest corner of the Castle, the Billiard-room, ready to be again moved in case of necessity. Fortunately, the efforts of the firemen practically arrested the fire at the end of the Great Hall, though the Red Drawing-room is slightly damaged about the roof and by water. The damage, however, done to the building cannot possibly be estimated pecuniarily, and is really irremediable. Many of the most valuable contents of the Castle, which was crowded with treasures of art, have been damaged by hasty removal, although every possible care was exercised. The flames were not subdued until nearly 10 o'clock in the morning, and then there remained a mass of smouldering flame which might, it was feared, at any time develope into

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another conflagration. Captain Fosbery, Lord Warwick's agent, telegraphed to Birmingham for a steam fire-engine to be sent by special train. Unfortunately, Birmingham does not possess a steam fire-engine, and a special train could not be procured, but a powerful manual engine was promptly despatched by road. Before it reached Warwick, however, assistance had arrived from Kenilworth and Coventry, and the progress of the fire had been checked. Lady Warwick only left the Castle on Friday, and Lord Brooke on Saturday. Lord Warwick had been at Torquay for a few days. Lady Eva Greville and the Hon. Sidney Greville were sleeping over the dining-hall when the fire broke out, but, happily, neither was injured. The whole of Lady Warwick's wardrobe was consumed, with her ladyship's apartments, which contained many objects of interest, which were greatly prized by the family. Her ladyship's jewels are safe, and also the plate, the apartments in the basement, where there is a large fireproof safe, being hardly injured except by the heat of the burning apartments above and the water thrown upon the fire. The sad occurrence has created a profound sensation throughout Warwickshire, and yesterday the scene of the disaster was visited by thousands of persons from the surrounding district. The cause of the fire cannot be accurately ascertained. Some men belonging to Mr. Holland had been employed on Saturday painting and decorating that part of the building where the fire is supposed to have originated. But it is stated that there was no fire in

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this part of the Castle, and therefore it is difficult even to surmise how the catastrophe was caused."

On the following morning it was possible to take stock of the situation and ascertain what damage had been done and what risks had been incurred. I once more quote from the *Times*:—

"Yesterday workmen were engaged in carting away the charred *débris* which choked the private apartments in the east wing of the Castle and the Grand Baronial Hall and Dining-room, which were entirely consumed, with the exception of the external walls, by the terrible and destructive conflagration on Sunday. The whole of the central portion of the Castle, right and left of the Grand Entrance-hall, is literally a blackened ruin. As the still smouldering rubbish was turned over, preparatory to being carted away, any vestiges of the Armoury in the Grand Hall were picked out and carefully stowed away for future examination. The fragments—for they were only such—consisted merely of portions of iron armour, bent, charred, and disfigured, and the barrels of the quaint old matchlocks and the blades of swords and poignards, which had defied the fury of the flames. The extent of the damage can now be more accurately ascertained than while the flames had only just been subdued, and fears were entertained lest they should again break forth and devastate the State apartments in the western wing of the building. The whole of the private apartments in the eastern wing have been entirely consumed. The only things saved were the valuable books from the



From a photograph by Graham, Leamington Spa.

GUY, LORD BROOKE.

Brooke

Warwick Castle

Library, which were carried and deposited over the stables, and the pictures which adorn the walls. The furniture of the apartments was wholly destroyed, together with the entire wardrobe of Lady Warwick, which was undergoing examination. The Baronial Hall, one of the most magnificent apartments of its kind, is utterly destroyed, save the outer walls, from which the plaster has fallen, and which are blackened and disfigured by the smoke. The Venetian marble floor is splintered and crushed, and other portions are discoloured and disfigured by the fire. The roof of the Banqueting-hall remains, but yesterday water was dripping in countless streams from its richly gilt, panelled divisions—an evidence of the immense quantity of water poured upon the building. The doors communicating with the hall are a mass of charred timber, eaten through here and there by the flames, but the side wall, external and internal, is only slightly damaged. The nursery and bedrooms above the dining-hall, however, are wholly gutted. It was here that Lady Eva Greville and the Hon. Sidney Greville, two of Lord and Lady Warwick's children, were sleeping with their governess when the fire was discovered. They with difficulty made their way through the dense and choking smoke down the narrow and winding stairs to the grand staircase before it was seized upon by the flames. A short time longer and this mode of escape would have been impracticable, and they would have had to be conveyed across the roof of the State apartments. They were taken by the Rev. V. R. Smythe, vicar

of St. Nicholas', to the Warwick Arms Hotel, where they still remain. The preservation of the whole of the State apartments is owing to the massive stone wall between the Red Drawing-room and the Baronial Hall. The firemen here severed the connexion between the roof of the hall and the rest of the western portion of the Castle, and happily thus arrested the progress of the flames. The fire, however, burst through the folding-doors leading to the Red Drawing-room, and scorched and blackened the walls. The combustible furniture fortunately had been cleared out of the Red Drawing-room, and here, too, as well as above, the efforts of the firemen to cut off the flames from the rest of the building were successful. The Red Drawing-room is very little injured, and the rest of the State apartments is entirely unhurt by the fire, so far as the building is concerned. The safety of her ladyship's jewels and the family plate is fully confirmed, although many valued souvenirs in Lady Warwick's boudoir have been destroyed. The footman, William Everton, did a brave and courageous act. Lord Warwick was about to entertain his annual Christmas shooting party, and upwards of 500 cartridges were stored in the Gun-room. When the fire was approaching this part of the building, Everton rushed into the room and carried the dangerous combustibles into another and distant part of the building. Everton, who greatly exerted himself, is seriously ill, and under medical treatment."

Happily, it had been found possible to save many

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of the most valuable of the works of art. The pictures in the various State apartments had been wrenched from their frames, but the actual paintings, especially the best of them, had sustained little injury. The Pietra Commena table, flowered with lapis-lazuli, formerly the property of Marie Antoinette, had also escaped; and one particular treasure safely rescued was the small painting of the bust of Shakespeare in Stratford Old Church, of inestimable value as a work of great national interest, bearing on the back a label containing the following memorandum: "This old painting of the monumental effigy of Shakespeare is a great curiosity, being one painted by Hall before he re-coloured the bust in 1748. The letters proving this are in the possession of Mr. Richard Greene, F.S.A., who printed them some years ago in *Fraser's Magazine*. I purchased this picture of Mr. Greene, who is the lineal descendant of the Rev. Joseph Greene, of Stratford, the owner of the painting about 1770.—J. O. HALLIWELL."

The news of the terrible catastrophe had hardly been made known when expressions of sympathy and of a wish to assist in the costly task of reparation began to pour in from all parts of the country. At Warwick itself a meeting was held in the Court House under the presidency of Dr. Tibbits, the eminent medical practitioner, and the opinion of the gathering was voiced by the Mayor of the Borough. "This," he said, "was not merely the case of the destruction of private property. A great national



From a photograph by H. N. King.

A CORNER OF THE RED DRAWING-ROOM, WARWICK CASTLE, SHOWING THE
COUNTESS OF WARWICK'S PORTRAIT BY CAROLUS DURAN.

Warwick Castle

monument had been destroyed, and he felt it to be the duty of a wealthy nation like England to restore that monument by its united efforts, and not let the burden of doing so fall on the shoulders of one man. He therefore trusted a large sum would be realized in the kingdom, and that it would be offered to Lord Warwick in such a way as that it would give him pleasure to receive the gift."

Almost immediately afterwards the following letter appeared in the *Times*:—

"SIR,—

"The destruction of a large portion of Warwick Castle by fire on the night of Saturday, December 2, is so severe a loss to the nation, that we, the undersigned, desire to place it in the power of the people of this country to assist in the reconstruction of that portion of the Castle now destroyed.

"Warwick Castle, with its art treasures, has been open to the public, with a noble generosity, for several generations, and is in itself an epitome of English history.

"The restoration of the building will entail a necessary outlay beyond the reach of most private fortunes. We therefore propose that a national subscription should be made, for the purpose of assisting Lord Warwick in rebuilding that portion now ruined by fire."

The list of signatures was headed by the name of

• The House of Greville

Lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh Abbey ; and there were seventy-one signatures in all, including many eminent names. The first subscription list announced contributions amounting to rather more than £2,000, and the work of restoration was at once set in hand and carried through with all possible rapidity. This was largely due also to the energy and zeal which Lord Warwick brought to bear upon the work. He loved every stone of the old Castle, and made many sacrifices to hand down the fabric intact.

In 1893 occurred the lamented death of the fourth Earl of Warwick, who in his life worthily upheld the great tradition of his house, and whose memory is honoured by all who had the good fortune to know him. His widow, Anne, Dowager-Countess of Warwick, daughter of the eighth Earl of Wemyss and March, still survives him. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Lord Brooke, as fifth Earl of Warwick and Brooke from the creations of George II. and George III. ; and with his succession my history of the House of Greville comes to a close.

L'ENVOI

1893—1903

IT would ill befit me to chronicle the history of Warwick Castle during the last decade—since we took up our residence there after the lamented death of the late Earl. But this I may say. We have tried—both Lord Warwick and myself—to adapt the ancient Castle to the needs of the present day, to blend the old and the new, and, while continuing its historic traditions, to make the Castle the centre of many movements for the benefit of others—not only those among whom our immediate lot is cast, but the nation at large. For Warwick Castle is a national glory as well as a personal possession, and we, who hold it now, strive to fulfil, imperfectly it may be, the duties of our stewardship and the privileges of our heritage. To chronicle all the gatherings which have taken place at Warwick Castle since 1893 would be to weary and not to edify. But as a proof that our idea of hospitality has not been a narrow one, I may mention various assemblies there of interesting groups of men and women, such as trades-unionists, co-operators, educationists, women agriculturists, cab-drivers, pen-workers, yeomanry, Colonial Premiers, Colonial cricketers, and Colonial troops. We have more than once had the

honour of entertaining his present Majesty King Edward VII. at the time when he was Prince of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family. I may also record that Lord Warwick has been on several occasions Mayor of the Borough of Warwick, and that our son, Lord Brooke, has served his country during the South African War. All this will go to prove that at Warwick Castle the old has touched hands with the new.

For times have greatly changed since the days of the most interesting events related in my history. We are a long way from the old conception of an Earl as a man who, in time of peace, should gather in the third pennies of the counties, and in time of war should marshal his tenants in battle-array, now to fight the King's enemies, and now to determine his own private quarrels. No Earl of Warwick could be a king-maker nowadays, though he had more than the king-maker's energy and genius; nor will any Earl of Warwick ever again behead a royal favourite on his own responsibility on Blacklow Hill. We are also far from the later conception of an Earl who could only maintain his dignity by holding the multitude at arm's-length, and who was considered to have fulfilled the whole duty of man if the magnificence of his life was equalled by the insolence of his pride. The haughty disdain of the Dudleys for the common people is nowadays as impossible as undesirable, and would only seem grotesque.

On the other hand, the altered circumstances have brought new duties, new responsibilities, new oppor-

tunities to the owners of Warwick Castle, as to all the world. One is in touch with life at more points ; there is an opening for the exercise of broader sympathies ; one can do good by organising as well as by almsgiving. Moreover, the modern conditions are such that women are no longer debarred from bearing their share in the work that waits to be done for the amelioration of the world. A woman's life may nowadays reasonably be fuller, more interesting, and more useful than in the past. No doubt there are some women whom this new liberty to bestir themselves leaves unmoved and cold. To most there is real pleasure in the novel sense of the free play of an unfettered individuality. What pleasure can be greater than that of being active in the promotion of causes that one has at heart? I, at any rate, have felt this pleasure keenly.

And so, having told my story, I come to the page on which I must say farewell to my readers. We have taken a long journey together—not, I trust, a tiresome journey—through the whole course of English history. There has been no attempt to extenuate anything, or to set down anything in malice. That all bias has been avoided I do not pretend, and do not even hope, since what is written without bias is generally tedious. But I have always tried to be fair, and to judge by the standards of the time. My one aim has been to re-create the past and to repeople it so that the Earls of Warwick of whom I have written—or at least the most eminent of them—might no

longer be mere names, but human beings, who have lived their lives and entered into their rest. It would be too much to hope that I have succeeded in every case; but even if I have succeeded only sometimes, I shall feel that measure of success to be ample compensation for a task of considerable magnitude. It has been no light labour to write a history of Warwick Castle, for its history is bound up indissolubly with the history of England.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A TO BOOK I

How Coventry was made free by Godina, Countess
of Chester.

Leofricus, that Noble Earl
Of Chester as I read,
Did for the City of Coventry
Many a noble deed :
Great Priveleges for the Town
This noble Man did get ;
And of all things did make it so,
That they Toll-free did sit :
Save only that for Horses still
They did some Custom pay,
Which was great charges to the Town,
Full long for many a Day :
Wherefore his wife Godina fair,
Did of the Earl request,
That thereof he would make it free,
As well as all the rest :
So when that she long time had sued,
Her purpose to obtain ;
Her noble Lord at length she took,
Within a pleasant Vein ;
And unto him with smiling Chear,
She did forthwith proceed ;
Intreating greatly that he would
Perform that goodly Deed.

You move me much my fair quoth he,
 Your suit I fain would shun ;
 But what will you perform and do,
 To have this Matter done ?
 Why any thing, my Lord (quoth she)
 You will with reason crave ;
 I will perform it with good Will
 If I my Wish might have.
 If thou wilt grant the thing, he said,
 That I shall now require,
 As soon as it is finished,
 Thou shalt have thy desire.
 Command what you think fit my lord,
 I will thereto agree,
 On this Condition that the Town
 For ever may be free.
 If thou thy Cloaths strip off,
 And here lay them down,
 And at Noon-day on Horse back ride,
 Stark naked through the Town,
 They shall be free for evermore :
 If thou wilt not do so,
 More Liberty than now they have,
 I never will bestow.
 The Lady at this strange demand,
 Was much abash'd in Mind,
 And yet for to fulfil this thing,
 She never a whit repin'd.
 Wherefore unto all Officers
 Of the Town she sent,
 That they perceiving her good Will,
 Which for the weal was bent ;
 That on the day that she should ride,
 All Persons through the Town,
 Should keep their houses shut and doors,
 And clap their Windows down ;
 So that no creature, young or old,
 Should in the Streets be seen ;

Till she had ridden all about,
 Throughout the City clean ;
 And when the Day of riding came,
 No Person did her see,
 Saving her Lord ; after which Time,
 The Town was ever free.

APPENDIX B TO BOOK I

The Mota of Warwick Castle.

The Pipe Roll of 19 Hen. II. (1172-3) shows us that £16 13s. 4d. was expended for the King in fortifying the Mota of the Castle of Warwick (Pipe Roll Society, vol. xix., p. 178). "And in the following year, 20 Hen. II. (1173-4), the Garrison of the Mota consisted of: ii knights, who received for their pay (Liḡaṡ) for 57 days, cxiv^s; v ditto, for 77 days, £19 5 0; x Serving on foot, for their term, 111^s 8^d; and William, son of Peter, and 4 knights resident in the Castle, 8^d each day for each day resident, 66^s 8^d, and with them 10 servants, at 33^s 4^d" (Pipe Roll, vol. xxi., p. 139). "In the same year is a further note that there is one house (Domus) in Mota de Warwick and one Bretesche,¹ 107^s 11^d, the officers superintending being Richard de Sudleya and William, son of Godefry, together with 5 knights and 10 servants, who were resident in the said Castle for clxx days, and were paid £42 10s.; and two other knights added to the Barony for the keeping of the Castle for 40 days, £4."

APPENDIX C TO BOOK I

The Park of Wedgnoek.

According to Dugdale ("Ant. of Warw.," i. 379), Henry de Newburgh formed the Park of Wedgnoek in imitation of that of Woodstock. In the Warwick Papers, No. 2556, is a survey of the park, showing that the Master of the Hospital of St. Michael, and

¹ Bretesche is thus defined by Ducange: "Fortification en bois destinée à defense les abords d'une place."

Appendices

the Dean of St. Mary's, as also the Church of Nicholas, had interests here. The document gives a number of field names, as follows:—

Olde Parke, Doleherthe, Rounsell Coppice, Le Poole Meadowe, Ladie Welmedowe.

Hatton: Henpton Hades, Coldemedowe, Whitecrofthades, Wheterytemedowe, Aleyn's Medowe, Le Wodemedowe, Stockhull le Deanylwood, Wardcroft, Wodeoke.

Master of St. Michael's: Le Fernihull, Ronyshull, Thornyhull, Gold Hade Moungers.

Dean of St. Marie's: Le Newoode, Megurwoode, Banner, Roysegrove, Lodgequarter, Goodrestpoole, Botelfeld, Le Magnaland.

Church of St. Nicholas: Woodlegrove.

Budbrooke: Levyhull, Swynecokehurst, Old Parke of Budbrooke, Basworthe.

Property of the King in Warwick (2556).

Rents: Broadhall Mead, Longbridge Field, Parkwood, Wedgnock Park, Le Lodge Close, Barforde Meadow, Bailiff's Mead, Farm Heath, Fryer's Mead, The Castle (passed away in fee-simple), Manor of Goodrest (passed in fee-farm), Vineyard House, Castle Mill, Lea Field, Temple Manor, Ford Mill, Barford Mill (passed in fee-farm). It came to the Crown on death of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.

Others: Rents of St. Sepulchre's Priory, College of St. Mary, The Guild, Free Chapel of St. Michael.

Manor of Moscote, co. Northants, held of Warwick by a knight's fee and one pound of pepper. Manor of Bilsley, held by a pair of gilt spurs.

The Park was a royal park, of which the Earls were hereditary keepers. It embraced within its formerly extensive precincts the Manor of Goodrest. On the death of Earl Ambrose it reverted to the Crown, and was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Fulke Greville and his heirs, 24th November, 44 Eliz. (Warwick Papers, 2561). Sir Fulke Greville built a lodge here, in which was placed the bell, now the clock bell of the Castle.

The House of Newburgh

HENRY DE NEWBURGH, *alias* de Beaumont, younger son of Roger de Beaumont, Seigneur de Pont Audemer, by Adeline his wife, sister of Hugh, and dau. of Waleran, both Counts of Meulan; b. about 1046; created about 1090 Earl of Warwick; d. 20 June, 1123; buried in Abbey of Preaux, near Pont Audemer, in Normandy.

ROGER DE NEWBURGH, *alias* de Warwick, Earl of Warwick; d. 12 June, 1153.

ROGER DE NEWBURGH, 1st dau. of Wm. de Warne, 2nd Earl of Surrey, by Isabel, dau. of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, living in 1167.

ROTRON, Bishop of Evreux, Archbishop of Rouen; d. 27 Nov., 1183.

ROBERT, Lord of Newburgh, etc., Seneschal and Justice of Normandy; d. at Abbey of Bec, 30 Aug., 1159.

WILLIAM DE NEWBURGH, *alias* de Warwick, Earl of Warwick; b. before 1140; mar. 1st, Margaret, dau. of Sir John D'Eivill; and 2nd, Maud, dau. and co-h. of William de Percy, by Adelaide, dau. of Gilbert FitzRichard, or de Tonbridge, Lord of Clare. He d. *s.p.* in the Holy Land, 15 Nov., 1184. His widow was living in 1199-1216.

WALERAN DE NEWBURGH, *alias* de Warwick, Earl of Warwick; b. before 1153; mar. 1st, before 1190, Margaret, dau. of Humphrey de Bohun, by Margaret, dau. of Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford; 2nd, Maud (A) . . . ; and 3rd, Alice (B), widow of John de Limesi, of Colley Weston, co. Northampton, dau. of Robert de Harcourt, of Stanton, co. Oxon, by Isabel, dau. and h. of Richard de Camville, of Stanton. He d. 12 Dec., 1204. His widow was living 1207-8.

1st, MARGARET, s. and co-h. of Henry D'oilly, of Hook Norton, co. Oxon, and dau. of Henry D'oilly, of the same, by Maud, dau. of Humphrey de Bohun.

HENRY DE NEWBURGH, *alias* de Warwick, Earl of Warwick; b. 1192; d. 10 Oct., 1229.

PHILIPPA, dau. and co-h. of Thomas Basset, of Headington, co. Oxon. She mar. 2nd, 1230, Richard Siward, and divorced him, 1246; d. *s.p.* c. 1246; buried at Bicester Priory, Oxon.

WALERAN DE NEWBURGH, of Greetham, co. . . . ; d. *s.p.* before 1263.

ALICE, mar. William Mauduit, of Hanslope, Bucks. He d. April, 1237. She was living in 1246, but d. before 1263.

THOMAS DE NEWBURGH, *alias* Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, by Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, in her own right, who mar., 2nd, Sir Philip Basset, of Wycombe, co. Bucks, Chief Justiciar of England. He d. Oct., 1271; and she *s.p.* at Headington, 6 Feb., 1297, and was buried at Warosney Priory, where was a monument to her memory.

MARGARET, Countess of Warwick *de jure*; b. about 1215; succeeded 26 June, 1262; mar. 1st, John Marshall, s. and h. of John Marshall, of Hingham, co. Norfolk, by Aliva h. w., dau. and co-h. of Robert de Rye. Earl of Warwick in right of his wife; d. *s.p.* Oct., 1242; when she mar. 2ndly, John du Plessis, or de Plessitis, possibly son of William du Plessis, of Plessis, in Poitou. He was Sheriff of Oxford 1239-40; mar. before Sept., 1243. He d. 26 Feb., 1262-3, and was buried at Missenden Priory, co. Bucks. He had previously mar. Christian, dau. and h. of Hugh de Sandford, of Hook Norton, co. Oxon, by whom he left a s. and h., Hugh.

SIR WILLIAM MAUDUIT, succeeded as 8th Earl on death of John du Plessis (7th Earl in right of his wife), 26 Feb., 1262-3. He mar. Alice, dau. and co-h. of Robert de Chaucombe, and d. *s.p.* 8 Jan., 1267-8, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

(*Continued on following page.)

The House of Beauchamp

*C

ISABEL MAUDUIT; d. ; said to have = WILLIAM DE BEAUCHAMP, of Emley, co. Worcester, s. of de Beauchamp, of, by h. w., dau. of, of Will dated 7 Jan., 1268-9.

Before 1270, MAUD, widow of Gerart de Furnival, of Sheffield, co. York, sister and co-h. of Richard = WILLIAM DE BEAUCHAMP, 9th Earl of FitzJohn, Lord FitzJohn, and dau. of John FitzJohn FitzGeoffrey, of Berkhamstead, co. Herts; d. 1300.

GUY BEAUCHAMP, 10th Earl of Warwick; b. 1278; knighted = before 28 Feb., 1310, Alice (widow of Thomas Leyburne), dau. of Ralph de Toni, 25 March, 1296; d. 10 Aug., 1315, at Warwick Castle; buried and sister and h. of Robert, Lord Toni. She mar. as her 3rd husband William at Bordesley Abbey, co. Worcester. Will dated 25 July, 1315. Zouch, Lord Zouch de Mortimer, who d. in 1337. She d. in 1324.

THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, 11th Earl of Warwick; b. in Warwick Castle 1313; = in 1337, KATHERINE, eldest dau. of Roger, Earl of March, by knighted 1 Jan., 1330; K.G. 23 April, 1344; d. at Calais 13 Nov., 1369. Will Joan, dau. and h. of Peter de Geneville, or Joinville. Will dated dated 6 Sept., 1369. Buried in St. Mary's, Warwick; effigy and inscription 4 Aug., 1369. Buried at St. Mary's, Warwick (monument).

SIR GUY DE BEAUCHAMP, or de Warwick; knighted 26 Nov., 1354; mar. Philippa, dau. of Henry Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Groby, by his first wife, Margaret, dau. of Robert Uford, Earl of Suffolk; d. 22 Jan., 1406-7. Will dated took the vow of chastity 11 Aug., 1360, and d. 1384. Will dated 1 April, 1400.

THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, 12th Earl of Warwick; = before April, 1380, MARGARET, dau. of b. about 1340; knighted 26 Nov., 1354; William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, by his first K.G. soon after Jan., 1372-3; d. 8 April, wife, Margaret, dau. of Robert Uford, Earl 1401; buried in St. Mary's, Warwick. M.I. of Suffolk; d. 22 Jan., 1406-7. Will dated Will dated 1 April, 1400.

ELIZABETH, a nun at Shouldham Priory, Norfolk; alive 1400.

KATHARINE, a nun at Shouldham; alive 1400.

1st, Sept., 1393, ELIZABETH, dau. = and h. of Thomas Berkeley, Lord Berkeley, by Margaret, dau. and sole h. of Warine, Lord de L'Isle, by Margaret, dau. and co-h. of Sir William Pipard; d. 28 Dec., 1422; buried at Kingswood Abbey, co. Wilts. M.I.

MARGARET, mar. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

JOHN, Viscount Lisle (eldest son by 2nd wife, Margaret Beauchamp).

ELEANOR, mar. 1st, Thomas, Lord Roos; 2nd, Edmund, Duke of Somerset; and 3rd, Walter Kokesley, Esq.

82 ELIZABETH, dau. and co-h.; mar. Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle.

ELIZABETH, wife of George Neville, Lord Latimer.

ELIZABETH. *suo jure* = EDMUND DUDLEY. Baroness Lisle.

JOHN DUDLEY, Viscount Lisle, 19th Earl of Warwick.

Before 1434, ANNE BEAUCHAMP, = RICHARD NEVILLE, 16th Earl of Warwick, s. and h.-apparent of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, by Alice, dau. and only dau. and co-h.; d. 8 Feb., 1492-3.

ISABELL NEVILLE = 11 July, 1469, George, Duke of Clarence, 17th Earl of Warwick; b. 21 Oct., 1449; attained 15 Jan., 1477-8.

ANNE NEVILLE = Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

EDWARD PLANTAGENET, 18th Earl of Warwick; b. 21 or 25 Feb., 1474-5; at Warwick Castle; knighted 8 Sept., 1483; executed 24 Nov., 1499; buried at Bisham Abbey.

MARGARET PLANTAGENET, Countess of Salisbury.

(* Continued from previous page.)

2nd, Nov., 1423, ISABEL, widow of his cousin, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, *suo jure* Baroness Bughersh, and dau. of Thomas, Lord Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, by Constance, dau. of Edmund Plantagenet, Duke of York, 5th s. of Edward III. She d. 26 Dec., 1429; buried beneath a slab inlaid with her effigy in the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey. Will dated 1 Dec., 1439, proved 4 Feb. following.

HENRY BEAUCHAMP, 14th Earl of Warwick and 1st Duke of Warwick; b. 21 March, 1424-5; d. *s.p.* at Hanley Castle, where he was born, 11 June, 1446, and was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey. Admon. at Lambeth 17 June, 1447.

ANNE, b. at Carlisle, Feb., 1442-3; d. at Ewelme, co. Oxon, 3 Jan., 1448-9, and was buried at Reading Abbey.

in 1434, CICELY, 2nd dau. of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, by Alice, da. and h. of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; she mar. 2nd, after July, 1446, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who was beheaded 18 Oct., 1470; she d. 28 July, 1450.

APPENDIX B TO BOOK II

The Will of RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, Earl of Warwick and of Aubemall, dated 8 August 1437.

I will to be entered in the church collegial of our Lady in Warwyk, where I will that in such place as I have devised, which is known well, there be made a chapel of our Lady, well, fair and goodly built, within the middle of which chapel I will that my tomb be made; in the meantime my body to be laid in a clean church [*sic*] before the altar that is on the right hand of my lord my father's tomb.

I will that my executors give and amortise to the divine service in the said church, sufficient livelihood of lay fee or advowsons to find four priests and two clerks for evermore over and above the number now therein, to be vicars, not corporal by themselves, but members of the church of the college.

I will that every day during the world, in the chapel to be new made, as above said, three masses be said, to perform which I will there be amortised thereto 4*li.* of good and clear livelihood, that is for every of the foresaid four priests 10 marks by the year, and for either clerk, 5 marks; and to depart as well among the said four priests as among the other six vicars of the college, to increase their yearly salary by equal portions.

I will that 30 marks of good livelihood be given to my college of Elmele, to find a priest for evermore.

I will have a mass said for me every day, &c., in the abbey of Tewkesbury.

The feoffees of my manors of Grossebury and Langeley shall make an estate thereof to my executors.

I will that in the name of heriot to our Lady there be given to the church of our Lady in Warwyk, mine image of gold of our Lady, there to abide for evermore.

My wife shall have all manner of silver vessel and household stuff that I had with her; also two dozen dishes of silver, twelve

pieces of silver of one sort with the enamel of mine arms in their bottoms, and other plate. Also the great "paytren" that was bought of the Countess of Suffolk, which sometime was the Earl of Salisbury's.

I will there be made a godly tomb of marble on my wife's grave, that dead is, in the abbey of Kingswood; and all the remnant of livelihood that faileth yet for my chantries at Guy's Cliff, shall be made sure to the same; and I will that the chapels of Guy's Cliff be built as I devised, and dwelling houses for my priests there as they may reasonably, wholesomely and goodly dwell therein.

If God will I have another son, my executors shall make an estate to him of my castle of Bathkyngton and the manor of Gronebury in tail male.

My wife shall an estate in the manor of Langley for her life, with remainder to my son Harry in tail, or, in default, to my daughter Anne.

I give the reversion of my manor of Shenston, co. Stafford, after the death of Richard, Lord Strange, and Constance his wife, to my son Harry.

All the manors and lands which the Lady of Bergavenny had by her life, jointly with mine uncle, of my lord my father's gift, shall remain to my younger son, if God will that I have any, in tail male; otherwise to my daughters Anne, Margaret, Eleanor and Elizabeth.

I will that all the "quillettes" that I have purchased in my days, over those that I have above disposed, shall remain in such manors as they lie and be in, as members to the said manors for evermore.

My son Henry shall have the cup of gold, with the dance of men and women, and all the residue of my vessels of silver and gold.

My executors shall ordain four images of gold, each of them of the weight of 20li. of gold, to be made after my similitude, with mine arms, holding an "anker" between his hands, so figured, to be offered severally at the shrine of St. Alban, the shrine in the cathedral church of Canterbury, at Bridlington, and at the shrine in the church of St. Winifred in Shrewsbury.

Executors:—Lord Cromwell; the Lord Typtoft; John Throkmar-ton; Richard Curson; Thomas Huggford; William Barkeswell, priest; and Nichol Rody, by the oversight and assent of my wife.

Proved, 26 October 1439, by John Throkmar-ton and others of the executors.

(P.C.C. Rous, 19.)

APPENDIX C TO BOOK II

The Will of Dame ISABELL, Countesse of WARREWYKE, made at London, 1 December 1439.

I bequeath my body to be buried in the Abbey of Tewkesbury, in such place as I have assyned, and that my grete templys with the Baleys be solde to the utmost pryse and delyuered to the sayde Abbat and the howse of Tewkesbury, so they groche nozt with my lyenge and with such thyngs as y woll haue done abowt my body; and my Image to be made all naked and no theyng on my hede but myne here cast bakwardys, and of the gretnes and of the fascyon like the mesure that Thomas Porchelyn hath yn a lyst, and at my hede Mary Maudelen leyng, my handes a crosse. And seynt John the Evangelyst on the ryght syde of my hede, and on the left syde seynt Anton, and at my fete a skochen of myne armes departyd with my lordys and two Greffons to bere it uppe, and all abowt my tumbes to be made pore men and women in their pore array with their bedys in their hands. Allso I woll there be made of myne grete sharpe a chaleys and offryd to our lady in our lady chapell of the howse of Tewkesbury. Also I woll our lady of Cauersham haue a crowne of gold I made of my cheyne that weyth 25li., with yn my panyer, with other broken gold that is ther yn, and two tabelottes the tone of seynt Katryn and the tother of seynt George, and the stonys that bene in hem to be sett in the saide Crowne. Allso I woll the tabelet with the Image of our lady with a glasse to for hit be offered to our lady of Walsyngham and my gowne of grene alyr [?] cloth of gold with wyde sleeves and a tabernacle allso of sylver lyke as the tymber is in maner ouer our lady of Cauersham. Allso I woll the grete Image of wax that is at London be offred to our lady of Worcester, and my wedding gown and all my clothes of gold and clothis of silke without furies euerychone, I woll the howse of Tewkesbury haue hem, save my Russet vellewet, I wolle Seynt Wynfryde. Allso I woll that all my stonys and perles be solde

to performe my wyll And all myne other syluer vessell and godys saue that is profitable for pore folkes. Allso I woll that euery man and person that hath estate in my land by way of grant of feoffment to myn use or in my name make an estate of all hit or Relese all hit to such personys that I woll and ordeyn to haue the execucion and bene the executours of this my last will and testament. Allso I woll that Jane Newmarch haue 200 marks in gold and I to bere all costes as for her bryngynge yn to seynt Katrens or where euer she woll be elles. And allso I woll my sone Harry haue myne oyche with my grete diamond and my noych with my Boleys. Itm. I woll Elysabeth Keston haue four score marks paid to Norman Watcheborne for her marriage. And yef he gouch therewith the mater so to be laboryed and selvyd [?] that he be constreyned ther to do hit. Allso I woll the saide Elisabeth haue for the labor sche hath had abowet me yn my sekynysse 20 marks. [Legacies to other servants.]

Allso I woll there be fownde a prest syngyng for me by yere at Mary Maudelens of the holt. Allso I woll ther be delyvered to the Bishop of Herford 100 marks, and more and hit nede be, to performe such thynges as I haue prayed hym to do for me. Allso I woll that myne executours enmortese unto the howse of Cewkester 100 marks of gode lyvelode to fynde certayne prestes, sertayne almes and sertayne observaunce that I woll haue done for me in the saide howse. . . . Allso I woll and ordeyne to execute and to done this my present will Sir William Mountford, John Nanfan, John Norreys and William Menston.

Proved 4 February 1439 [-40] by the executors named.

(P.C.C. Luffenham, 27.)

APPENDIX TO BOOK III

The Will of Dame Jane Neville, widow, dated 2 October 1470.

I desire to be buried in the Chapel of our Lady, within the College of Warwick, where the body of Sir Henry Neville, Kt., late my husband, lieth buried.

I bequeath to the said College for my burying there, and that the Dean and Chapter devoutly pray for my soul, &c., two gowns of blue velvet, thereof to make a vestment and copes, as far as the said gowns wol stretch, one of which gowns belongeth unto the body of my said late husband, and the other to myself, with 10 marks in money. Furthermore I wol, if the said gowns wol not suffice to make a chesyle, two tonicles with one cope, auter clothes and frontell, that myn executors buy as moche plain blewe velvet as woll suffice.

My executors shall find a priest to sing in the said chapel for three years after my decease.

As touching the roli. due under an obligation of 100 marks, in which my good and gracious lord and father is bound unto Sir Robert Danby, to be disposed about the performing of this my testament, and the 94li. due of my jointure at Michaelmas last, I bequeath to Philippe Godmerston, my gentilwoman, a long black gown, furred with black boge, a black girdle of damask work harnessed with silver overgilt, and a floure of gold with an emerald.

[Other legacies to servants.]

I give to my good and gracious lady and moder, a ring of gold with a great diamond.

Item, to my brother Sir Humphrey Bourghier, Kt., a ring of gold with a floure de lis of rubies.

To my brother Sir Thomas Bourghier, an ouche of gold made like a trinke, with a diamond, two rubies and two perles.

I bequeath to Dame Elizabeth, Lady Wellis, my sister, a floure of gold with a ruby and two half pearls.

To my son Lord Latymer, my wedding ring.

Residuary legatees and executors :—Sir John Bourgchier, Kt. ; Lord Berners, my fader ; Dame Margerie, his wife, my moder ; Thomas Bourgchier, my brother ; and John Bradshaw, my servant.

Furthermore I wol that Sir William, which I now find at Oxenford, be there found still with my goods for two years.

I bequeath my crimson gown of fine thread and lawn, to the College of Warwick, to be disposed for a corporas, and my crimson cloth of fine thread to the church of the hospital of Welle, to serve for a corporas ; and I will that two corporas cases be made for the same.

I bequeath to Thomas Nevill, my son, my great primer.

Proved, 16 October, in the year above said, by Lady Margerie Berners, with power reserved, &c.

(P.C.C. Godyn, 31.)

APPENDIX A TO BOOK IV

Grant of the Guild Halls at Warwick to Robert, Earl of Leicester, to found a Hospital

To all faithful Christians to whom this present writing may come the Bailiff and Burgesses of the Borough of Warwick in the County of Warwick send greeting. Whereas the most noble Lord Robert Earl of Leicester Baron of Denbigh Knight of each Order of St. George and St. Michael Master of the Horse of our lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England etc. and one of her Privy Council of his good will charitable intention and by his own free gift has determined to found and endow with all speed (God willing) a hospice or hospital within the Borough of Warwick aforesaid for the help and maintenance of poor people. Know therefore that we the aforesaid bailiff and burgesses etc. by our unanimous assent and consent have given granted enfeofed and confirmed and by these presents for ourselves and our successors do give grant and confirm unto the aforesaid Lord Robert Earl of Leicester his heirs and assigns for the object use and intent aforesaid all that our house or hall known by the name or names of the Burgess Hall or the Guild Hall in Warwick aforesaid together with our orchard or garden adjoining the same house and all other houses structures buildings and easements whatsoever situate and being below the entrance or outer gate of the same house or hall. And also all that our late Chapel known as the Chapel of St. James situate built and standing above a certain entrance or gate called the West gate of the borough aforesaid with all the appurtenances which aforesaid premises were formerly part of the possessions of the late Guild of the Holy Trinity and St. George in Warwick aforesaid and are now in tenures or occupation of the aforesaid bailiff and burgesses and one John Fisher and Thomas Jenks or their assigns To have hold and enjoy the aforesaid house or hall

orchard garden and chapel aforesaid with all and every the aforesaid buildings edificies and easements whatsoever unto the aforesaid lord Robert Earl of Leycester and his heirs to the use and intent aforesaid for ever holding of the chief Lords of that fee by the services therefor due and of right accustomed. And we the aforesaid Bailiff and Burgesses by these presents will warrant and for ever maintain the aforesaid house hall chapel and other premises to the aforesaid Lord Robert Earl of Leicester and his heirs to the use and intent aforesaid against us and our successors. Know moreover that we the Bailiff and Burgesses have nominated ordered constituted and in our place appointed and by these presents nominate order constitute and in our place appoint our esteemed and faithful John Fisher gentleman our true and undisputed attorney giving and granting to our said attorney full and sufficient power right and authority to enter for us and in our name into the aforesaid house or hall orchard garden chapel and other premises or any part thereof and thenceforth to take seisin. And after such seisin so taken and had to give over and by these presents to deliver full and peaceful possession and seisin of all and singular the aforesaid premises to the Lord Robert Earl of Leicester or to his Attorney or attornies for this purpose for us and in our name according to the tenor force form and effect of this present gift or grant holding and ready to hold ratified and confirmed all and everything which our said attorney may do in this behalf. In witness whereof we have to this present writing caused to be affixed our common seal. Given 26th day of December in the 14th year of the reign of the aforesaid Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith etc.

APPENDIX B TO BOOK IV

A Latin Acrostic, presented to Queen Elizabeth on the
Occasion of her Visit to Warwick in 1572.

t	riste absit letum dignare amplectier ome	n
v	t firmo vitae producas stamina nex	u
e	xplorans gressu cepisti incedere cale	b
l	urida sulphurei qua torquent tela ministr	i
i	n capita authoru lex est ea iusta resultan	t
s	it tibi demonstras animi quid in hoste fugand	o
a	gmina cu fundas regno nocitura maloru	m
b	ella geris parce illicite non suscipis arm	a
e	xempla illorum nunqm tibi mente recedun	t
t	urpe quibus visum magna cum clade preess	e
a	lma vernis vultu sed Christus pectore fertu	r
v	ere vt feruescat cor religionis amor	e
i	n verbis pallas factis Actrea tenetu	r
r	ara vt Penelope regia nescia Debora vinc	i
o	men triste absit defuncta propagine viue	s

Gloriae Anglorum modo non cadente
te cadit flos sed perit ipsa radix
regio in ex te solio quiescat

Septifer haeris.

Apparent tenebrae occidente sole
alternantq vices quies laborq
postqm federa desiere pacis
squalet terribilis lues Manortis
Queq olim Nemesis reciprocatur
que sunt ante pedes videre tantu
non prudentis erit futura longe
quam sint prospicere: est opus laborq
est solum patriae salutis ardor
quo post funera Regin relucet
Nomen sidereo nitens vigore
nec cu corporis interit ruina

Hic quorsum? an patriae studere cessas
 quo cessas minus hoc magis supersis
 omnes vnisono ore vota fundunt
 at vitæ statuere terminos dii
 atq̄ equo pede pauperu tabernas
 pulsat mors tetra principuq̄ turres
 viuunt prole tamen sua parentes
 Sed quid plura? deo regente reges.¹

¹ Far from thee be sadness and disaster! Mayst thou deign to take hold on this for thy lot—the living out of a happy life in a firm-established union, departing from the path which, till now, thou hast trodden—unwedded. May the lightning-bolts which ministers of darkness may hurl (against thee) recoil upon the heads of them that cast them—for that is law and justice.

May it be thine to show thy courage in putting thy foes to flight, when thou pourest forth thy hosts to shatter the power of hostile nations: yet avoid thou the waging of war; take not up arms save for just cause; and let not the example ever leave thy thoughts of those who thought it shame to win their way to power only through deeds of blood.

Fair art thou to look upon: but let Christ be Lord of thy soul, that thy heart may be ever ardent and sincere in its love for things of holiness. Let it be truly said that in thy words thou art wise as Pallas—in thy deeds as kindly as Astræa, (in virtue) as renowned as royal Penelope: (in courage) as Deborah, knowing nought of defeat. May never harm befall thee—and when thou art dead mayst thou live again in thy children.

If thou shouldst fail us, not only fades the flower of the glory of England's sons, but its very root is cut off: but in thy person may it rest secure on thy royal throne, (while) thou remainest to wield the sceptre. As the sun sinks the shades of darkness fall, and rest and labour take their equal share: after the bonds of peace have fallen away. War, grim destroyer, stalks throughout the land, and future Fate will drink its deep revenge, though now we see it not nor even look beyond the path we tread. 'Tis no wise man's part only to look upon the future: let him, too, regard the things that *are*. There's need of work to-day, need for the kindling of a deep desire for the welfare of our land; desire, through which, though he who sits upon the throne may die, his name, shining in starry splendour, is still borne brilliant, nor ever dies, though his mortal body perish.

But whither tends my song? Shouldst thou then cease to love thy country? Nay! the more thou lovest it the more thou shalt reign supreme (in its heart): all with unanimous voice shall raise their prayers for thee. But the gods have allotted the span of mortal life, and dark death treads alike in the cottage of the poor and the palace of the Prince—yet parents live again in their children. Need I say more? While God shall reign (in heaven), thou (on earth).

APPENDIX C TO BOOK IV

The House of Dudley

1st, MAUD DE NEVILLE, = JOHN TALBOT, Earl of = 2nd, MARGARET, eldest
da. and h. of Thomas, Shrewsbury, s. and h. of da. of Richard, 5th Earl
Lord Furnivall. Richard, Lord Talbot. of Warwick.

JOHN, Viscount Lisle, eldest son by = JOAN, da. and co-h. of Thomas Cheddar, of
his 2nd wife; killed at Chatillon, Cheddar, co. Somerset, widow of Richard
20 July, 1453. Stafford.

THOMAS, killed = LADY MARGARET HERBERT, ELIZABETH, = EDWARD GREY,
20 March, 1470. youngest da. of William, da. and Viscount Lisle.
Earl of Pembroke. co-h. d. 17 July, 1492.

EDMUND DUDLEY, ESQ. = ELIZABETH, da. and = 2nd, ARTHUR
h., Baroness Lisle. PLANTAGENET.

JOHN DUDLEY, Viscount Lisle, 19th Earl of Warwick, = JANE, da. of Sir Edward
s. and h. of Edmund Dudley; created 11 Oct., 1551, Guilford, Marshal of
Duke of Northumberland; beheaded 22 Aug., 1553. Calais.

HENRY DUDLEY, slain at siege of Boulogne, d. unmar.	JOHN DUDLEY, = at Shene, 3 June, 1550, = 2nd, 29 Ap., 2nd son, b. before Anne, 9th da. of Edward 1555, 1528; knighted Seymour, 1st Duke of Sir Edward 20 Feb., 1546-7; Somerset, being eldest Unton, K.B., d. s.p. 21 Oct., da. by his second wife, of Wadley, 1554, Anne, da. of Sir Edward co. Berks. at Penshurst, Stanhope. She was liv- co. Kent. ing in 1573-4. Admon. 20th Earl of dated 17 Jan., 1587-8. Warwick.
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ROBERT, 1st, ANNE, = AMBROSE DUDLEY, 3rd s. 21st Earl = 2nd, before 13 Earl of da. and h. of of Warwick; knighted 17 July, 1549; Sept., 1553, Leicester. William created 25 Dec., 1561, Baron Lisle, and Elizabeth, <i>suo</i> Whorwood, the next day Earl of Warwick; K.G. <i>jure</i> Baroness Attorney- 22 April; invested at Newhaven, 23 Talboys, and General to May, 1563; M.A. Cambridge 10 April, widow of Henry VIII., 1564, Oxford 6 Sept., 1566; mar. 3rd, Thomas by Cassandra, 11 Nov., 1565, at Westminster, Anne, Wymbish, da. of Sir Ed- eldest da. of Francis Russell, 2nd Earl da. and h. of ward Grey. of Bedford, by his 1st wife, Margaret, She d. s.p. da. of Sir John St. John. He d. s.p. at She died 26 May, 1552, Bedford House, Strand, 21 Feb., 1589-90, 6 Feb., 1603-4, at Otford, and was buried at Chenies, and was buried co. Kent. Chapel of St. Mary's, Warwick. Bucks, 1 May.
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APPENDIX A TO BOOK V

FELSTEAD CHURCH.

Uninscribed Tomb of Richard Rich, Lord Rich.

The tomb, which is beautifully figured in Chancellor's "Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex," was probably erected by the chancellor in his lifetime, since there is no inscription.

It consists of an altar-tomb, divided into two divisions by three pilasters of veined marble (only one is *in situ*). The panel farthest east (not as figured in Chancellor) represents the chancellor's procession. The principal figure is on horseback in his official robes. Two figures lead the horse, and others bear the mace and burse. In the background is a representation of (?) Rich House, with a shield of arms over the doorway. The second panel, also incised on slate, represents the deceased lying in state beneath a catafalque, surmounted by his arms, crest, and banners. In front kneels his son, and on the other side a female figure.

On the black marble mensa is an effigy of the deceased, lifesize, resting on his left elbow on an embroidered cushion. He wears the chancellor's cap, and furred gown open at the neck to show three buttons of a vest or undercoat; and beneath this, again, a small frilled shirt. About his neck, twice twined, is a double gold chain. The undercoat has braided sleeves slit up at the wrist. The closed hand holds a handkerchief, while in the right is a partly closed book. On the feet are sandals.

The entablature rises from two Corinthian columns stilted on pedestals with arabesques. The soffits in front were once decorated with three pendants, but only one is left. The ceiling is divided into compartments by transverse beams with cherubs.

The wall-piece is also in three compartments, separated by marble pilasters. The central panel contains the arms, supporters, crest, and

Appendices

motto of Rich ; while on the right is a relief—two males with mace and sword, and a female with a broken column, all in classical costume. On the left, a female with an anchor, another with her children, and a male figure with the burse containing the Great Seal. On the east is a third panel—a male figure with a hound in leash, and a deed with two seals, and a female figure with a mirror. Above the tympanum and pediment is a naked winged “Fame” blowing a trumpet.

In the parish register is this entry:—

[1567]

The Right honorable Richard Ritche
Knighte, Lord Ritche died y^e xith of June
at Rotchford and was buried at Felsted
the viiith of Julie.

There are two earlier entries, *viz.* :—

[1558]

The righte honourable ladie Elizabeth
Ritch died y^e xxiii of November and was
buried the xviii of Dcembř;

and—

[1564]

Thomas Ritche y^e sonne of y^e right wor
shipfull Sir Robert Ritche knighte was
buried y^e xxth of Januarie.

A brass inscription to his memory is in the floor of the chapel, and reads :—

**Thomas Ryche, filius Roberti Ryche
Militis, obiit 1564 et sepultus erat
apud Felsted the 4th of Februarye.**

At the west end of the great tomb is a kneeling effigy in armour, bareheaded and lifesize, and on the wall above is a shield of arms. It represents Robert, Lord Rich, son of the chancellor, whose burial is thus entered in the register:—

[1581]

The right honorable Sir Robert Ritche
knight Lord Ritche was bury^d y^e iiith of Aprill
His son died before him.

[1580]

The righte worshipfull Mr. Ritchard
Ritche sonne and heir unto the Right
honorable Sir Robert Ritche knight
Lord Ritche was buried y^e xxviith of Maie.

There is also—

[1575]

Joane Ritche gentlewomā y^e xviith of August.

Later entries :—

[1619]

The right hon^{ble} Lord Robert Lord
Rich, Earle of Warwicke was buried the
seventh day of Aprill.

The honorable Lady Lettis daughter to
Robert Earle of Warwicke and wife
to S^t Arthur (?) Lake buried
fift day of May [1619].

[1623]

Honoratissima D^a Fraunces Comitissa
de Warwicke uxor splendidissimi Dⁱ
Roberti Comitis Warwicki sepulta
fuit tertio die Decemb^r.

[1634]

The right Honorable Lady the Countesse Dowager
of Warwicke buried Aug. 8^o.

The House of Rich

ROBERT RICH, Baron Rich, 2nd but 1st surv. s. and h. of Robert, 2nd Baron Rich, by = 1st, after Oct., 1681, PENELOPE, = eldest da. of Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex, by Lettice, da. of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G.; divorced. Died before July, 1607.

ROBERT RICH, Earl of Warwick, eldest son by 1st w.; b. May or June, 1587; K.B. 24 June, 1503; M.A. Camb. 1624, Oxford 25 Aug., 1624; mar. 2nd, Susan, widow of William Halliday, Alderman of London, and da. of Sir Henry Kowe, Lord Mayor, by Susan, da. of Thomas Kighley, of Gray's Thurock, Essex; lap. at Hackney 19 Sept., 1582; d. at Warwick House, Holborn, 16 and buried 21 Jan., 1645, with her 1st husband in St. Lawrence Jewry. He mar. 3rd, 30 March, 1646, at Hornsey, in Highgate, Eleanor, widow of Edward Radclyffe, 6th Earl of Sussex, and formerly of Sir Henry Lee, Bart., 4th da. of Sir Richard Wortley, of Wortley, co. York, by Edward Boughton, of Cawton, co. Warwick. He died at Warwick House, 19 April, 1658, and buried at Felstead. Will dated 12 July, 1653; pr. 17 May, 1658. His widow mar. July, 1659 (her 4th h.), Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl of Manchester, who d. 5 May, 1671. She was buried at Kimbolton, co. Hunts, 31 Jan., 1666. Will dated 5 June, 1665; pr. 2 Feb., 1666-7.

1st, 9 April, 1632, at = ROBERT (RICH) 24th Earl of War-
Battersea, co. Sur- wick; b. 28 June; lap. 13 July,
rey, ANNE, only da. 1611, at Hackney; K.B. 2 Feb.,
of William Caven- 1625-6; M.P. for Essex 1629 and
dish, 2nd Earl of 1640-1; summoned to Parliament
Devonshire, by as Baron Rich 26 Jan., 1640-1;
Christian, da. of Ed- D.C.L. of Oxford 1 Nov., 1642;
ward Bruce, 1st Earl of Warwick 18 April, 1658;
Lord Kinloss; d. 24 d. 29 May, 1659; buried at
Aug., 1638, aged 27. Felstead.

ANNE RICH;
m. 8 Nov.,
1664, at Lees,
Thomas
Barrington,
Bart.

ESSEX;
m. at Lees
Chapel,
16 June, 1674,
Daniel Finch,
2nd Earl of
Nottingham.

MARY;
m. at Lees,
11 Dec., 1673,
Henry
St. John,
1st Viscount
St. John.

CHARLES
RICH;
b. 28 Sept.,
1643; d. s.p.
16 May, 1664;
buried at
Felstead.

CHARLES = m. at Roehampton Chapel, in Put-
ney, co. Surrey, 2 Sept., 1662,
ANNE, da. of William Cavendish,
3rd Earl of Devonshire. She m.
2nd (license 4 May, 1670) John
Cecil, 5th Earl of Exeter, who d.
29 Aug., 1700. She d. 18, buried
20 June, 1703, at St. Mary's,
Stamford.

CHARLES RICH, 25th Earl = m. privately, at Shepperton, co.
of Warwick, br. and Middlesex, 21 July, 1641,
h. m.; b. 1616; M.P. MARY, 7th da. of Richard
for Sandwich 1645-52, Boyle, Earl of Cork, by his
and for Essex 1658-9; 2nd w., Catherine, da. of Sir
Earl on death of his Geoffrey Fenton; b. at Yon-
br.; d. s.p. m. at ghall co. Cork, 11 Nov., 1624,
Lees, co. Essex, 24 or 8 Nov., 1625; d. at Lees,
Aug.; buried 9 Sept., 12 April, 1678; buried at
1673, at Felstead. Felstead.

ANN,
2nd w. of
Edward
Montagu,
2nd Earl of
Manchester.

LUCY;
m. John
Robartes,
Earl of
Radnor.
Frances,
m. Nicholas
Leke,
Earl of
Scarsdale.

1st, 12 Feb., 1604-5,
at Hackney, Fran- ces, da. and h. of
Sir William Hatton, formerly of New-
port, by Elizabeth, da. and h. of Sir
Francis Gawdy. She died Aug.,
1634.

= 2nd (illegally), 26 Dec.,
1605, at Wanstead
House, Essex, CHARLES
BLOUNT, Earl of De-
vonshire, who d. s.p.
legit. 3 April, 1606.

HENRY RICH, 1st Earl of Holland and Baron Kensington, = ISABEL, da. and h. of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington.
2nd s. of Robert Rich, 22nd Earl of Warwick.

1st. 8 April. 1641, at Kensington, = ROBERT RICH, 26th Earl of War. = 2nd, ANNE, 2nd da. of Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl of Manchester, by his 2nd w., Anne, da. of Robert Rich, 23rd Earl of Warwick; buried at Kensington 9 July, 1689.

ELIZABETH, sister of Henry, 1st Viscount Irvine, da. of Sir Arthur Ingram, of Temple Newsum, co. Yorks, by his 1st w., Elizabeth, da. of Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart.; buried at Kensington 17 Sept., 1661.

HENRY RICH, Lord Kensington; b. about 1642; buried at Kensington 22 April, 1659.

EDWARD RICH, 27th Earl of Warwick; b. 1673; d. 31 July, buried 6 Aug., 1701, at Kensington.

= Feb., 1696-7, CHARLOTTE, da. and h. of Sir Thomas Middleton, 2nd Bart., of Chirke Castle, by his 2nd w., Charlotte, da. of Sir Orlando Bridgman. She d. at Kensington 7 July, buried 12 July, 1731. Will dated 29 May, 1728.

= 2nd, 2 Aug., 1716, at St. Edmund the King, London, the RIGHT HON. JOSEPH ADDISON, the author, who d. at Holland House, Kensington, 17, buried 26 June, 1719, in Westminster Abbey.

EDWARD RICH, = EARL of Warwick; b. 1695; d. *s/p.* m. 7, buried 15 Sept., 1759, at Kensington. M.I.

= ABOUT 1712, MARY, da. of Samuel Stanton, of King's Lynn, Norfolk; d. 7, buried 14 Nov., 1769, Kensington. M.I.

EDWARD HENRY RICH, only s. and h.; b. Jan., 1698; d. unm. of a fever in Albemarle Street 16, buried 21 Aug., 1721, at Kensington. M.I.

Admon. 12 June, 1736, and 15 June, 1748.

CHARLOTTE, d. unm. in Queen Anne Street 12 April, 1791, aged 78. M.I.

APPENDIX C TO BOOK V

A

DECLARATION

OF THE

Earle of Warwick,

Lord High Admirall

OF

ENGLAND :

In Answer of a scandalous Pamphlet,
sadly reflecting upon his Lordships
Honour and Proceedings.

Having this day seene a Letter from LONDON, dated the third of this instant November, importing, That there is a Pamphlet printed intituled ; A Declaration of the Earle of Warwick, shewing a Resolution to joyne with the Prince if the Treaty take not effect. I thought myselfe bound to take notice of it, having so horrid a reflection upon my Honour, and wickedly aspersing mee with a supposed Resolution one so repugnant to the Trust, which I hold under the PARLIAMENT, And therefore I doe hereby declare, That as both Houses of Parliament have been pleased to intrust me with

the Charge of the Fleet, so I have endeavoured to improve that Authority committed to me, with a faithfull, and inviolable respect unto my duty.

When I first undertooke this great Charge, I was really sensible how much the Cause, Truth, and glory of God, the settlement of my Countries Peace, and the preventing of the bloody, and desperate designs of the Enemies thereof, depended upon the management of this Expedition, and how much I was obliged in Conscience and Honour to omit nothing that might have a tendency to those ends. That Obligation I have (according to my best Reason and Judgement) faithfully discharged, and by the blessing of Heaven have received this fruit (notwithstanding the many obstructions and difficulties that intervened) that the Honour of the Parliament by Sea is cleared, the Fleet committed to my charge preserved in a condition of Honour and safety ; The affections of the Sea-men settled ; the designe of those wicked Revolters, that perfidiously betrayed so considerable a part of the Kingdomes Navie broken, and such as associated with them either rendered or reduced (other then those few that for a while have basely sheltered themselves within the Sluce at Helver, and one that was out of this Harbour when I came into it.) And as to the pretended Resolution of my joyning with the Prince, in case the Treaty should not take effect, falsly charged upon me, by that Phamphlet, I doe professe, in the presence of God, who knowes my heart, and waies, that it never entred into my thoughts, and that my soule abhors it, as inconsistent with my Duty, prejudiciall to the Parliament, destructive to the Kingdomes Peace, and unworthy of a free borne English man ; being confident that the Parliament will omit nothing on their part, to make the issue of the Treaty (by Gods blessing) successefull, and happie. And therefore, as I have hitherto beene faithfull to the Kingdome, and to the Parliament, where I have the Honour to sit as Peere, so I do and shall scorne to sacrifice my conscience, and those publique and deare concernments of my Country, wherein I have a portion, to the mis-led fancie of any person of what ranke, quality, or condition soever ; And while I have a heart, and a hand, I shall not faile (by Gods assistance) to have them, on all occasions, lifted up, for the Service of the Parliament ; and common Interests of England, with my uttermost integrity, and to my highest hazard ; And my actions shall confute the lyes and jealousies as well

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of that false Author, as of any other who (either from an ignorance of my proceedings, or perhaps from a sense, of their owne guilt) dare take the freedome (in these times, wherein the Tongue and Presse assume so luxurious a latitude) so unjustly to bespatter my Honour and Intentions; To vindicate the sincerity whereof I shall commit my selfe to him that judgeth righteously.

WARWICK.

A Board the St. George in Helver Sluce, 11. Novemb. 1648.

FINIS.

APPENDIX A TO BOOK VI

The Will of EDWARD GREVYLL;

dated 12 December 1436.

I desire to be buried in the parish church of Cherdelynych.

I give to every priest in the funeral office, 12d.

To every clerk celebrating mass there, 6d.

To the minor clerks, 4d.

To the fabric of the parish church, 3li.

To the chapel of St. John the Baptist de Godlaigh, 4 marks.

I bequeath to Sir Stephen Chapman, rector of Cherdelyng, to celebrate for my soul, 40s.

To Brother Thómas of the order of St. Augustin, Bristol, to celebrate a trentale for my soul, 5 marks.

I give to the said Thomas, 3s. 4d., for his labour spent on me.

Item, to the Convent of the Friars Minor of Briggewater, 10 marks to celebrate for my soul, two complete years.

I give to the Convent to St. Augustin's, Bristoll, 40s. to celebrate for my soul.

To brother William Stowrd, to celebrate for my soul, 2 marks.

I bequeath to John Curtenay, my gown of scarlet with hood of musterde-vybers and a silver baselard.

To Leonard Stepylton, my blue (blodia) gown furred.

To William ap Thomas, my gown of murrey engreyned and one flat piece without a cover.

Item, to Mary my sister one gown of green colour formerly my wife's.

I bequeath to Richard Martyn, 5 marks and one sorel horse and my sword with one jakke of defense.

To John Scherlond, 5 marks with one black horse and saddle and bridle and one wood knyffe.

Appendices

Item, to Katherine Hullond, 5 marks.

To John Payne, 20s.

Other small money legacies to Elys Deyeman, John Newman, John Ratsworthy, John Hullond and John and Thomas his sons, William Trayleman, John Fammell the younger, Anastasia, wife of Richard Martyn, and John Bercoin.

I bequeath to the Bishop of Exeter, one horse called "Irell."

To my brother, Richard Grevyll, my seal.

To my mother, one ring and all the apparatus of the hangings in my hall.

I give to Thomas Spencer, one goss-hawk.

Item, to Isota Hullond, one hake.

To my brother, Stepilton, one striped hood.

I will that the lordship of Batheneston shall be sold to have a mass in the parish church of Chardelynych for my soul and the soul of Isabel my wife.

Residuary legatees and executors: SIR PHILIP THORNBURY;
WILLIAM AP THOMAS; JOHN CURTENAY and RICHARD MARTYN.

Proved 5 February in the year above written.

Will of Robert Grevyle Gentleman dated 7th February 1548.

My soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the parish Church of Charlton Kyngs.

I give to the High Altar for tithes forgotten 4^d.

The Residue of my goods not bequeathed my debts paid I give to Jone my wife whom I make my sole Executrix.

Richard Gotheryge Gentleman to be my overseer.

Witnesses RICHARD ELBOROW
NICHOLAS GOLDER
WILLIAM PECK.

Proved 1548 [no day of the month].

The Will of Robert Grevell of Eburton Glo^s Gentleman.

Dated 4th September in the third year of the reign of
Edward VI. (1550).

My soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the Chancel of Eburton nye unto my wife.

I bequeath to Dorotheie my daughter xx^{li} in money and all my land within Hereford during her life and after I will the same to remain to my son Thomas Grevell and his heirs for ever.

I bequeath to Anne Neyvell my daughter and John Neyvell her son xx marks in money.

I bequeath Heline Ingles my friend one calf.

To John Kelinge for my wife's lying and mine with her, in the chancel of Eburton aforesaid, Vicar there, x^d 10/-

The residue of my goods moveable and immoveable I give to Thomas my son whom I make sole Executor to bestowe them as God shall put him in mind to and for his own furtherance and to and for the wealthe of my soul and all Christian souls.

The overseers I make my two *Nevies* Fouke Grevell Knight and Edward Grevell Gentleman desiring them to advise my said son Thomas Grevell in all rightes.

Witnesses JOHN KELINGE Vicar
RICHARD ETTE
& JOHN OKELEY.

[No date of proof.]

The Will of THOMAS GREUELL,

dated 5 January 1558 [-9].

I bequeath my body to be buried in the chappell of our Ladie within the parishe church of Seynt Gyles without Creplegate of London, where I am a paryshenere, neare unto my pewe there.

I will all my goods be divided into two equal parts according to the custome of the citie of London ; whereof one part I bequeath to Jone my wife.

Out of the other part, I bequeath to the high aulter of St. Gyles aforesaid, 2s.

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To my sister, Jone Lacye, widow, 6li. 13s. 4d.

To John Lacye of London, brewer, 20s., and to his wife other 20s.

To Alexander Lacye, brother to the same John, and to his wife 10s.

I give to the two daughters of the said Alexander 20s. apiece at their ages of 21 or marriage.

Item, to John Burton the younger and Elizabeth Burton his sister, the children of John Burton, brewer, 40s., at their ages of 21 or marriage.

To Richard Hollylande, wax chaundler, 20s.

Item, to Margaret my woman servant, now dwelling with me, 20s.

To Bryan Myrfin, mine apprentice, 20s.

To Robert Aldrich my late servant, 20li.

I give to the company of wax chaunders of London of the livery, for a drinking or repast, 20s., and the like to the company of fletchers of London.

I bequeath to Emma Grevell, a mayden child whom I have brought up of charitye from her youth, 5li. at her age of 21, or marriage.

Residuary legatee and executrix: My wife Jone.

Overseers: my friends Richard Roper, baker, and John Hillyarde, Goldefyner.

(Signed and sealed) THOMAS GREVELL.

Witnesses: WILLM. ASSHETON; RIBERT ALDRICHE; RICARDE HOLLYLANDE and RICARDE REASON, servant to Thomas Pierson, scryvener.

Proved 26 January 1558-9 by the relict and executrix named.

(P.C.C. Welles, 27.)

The Will of THOMAS GREVELL.

Thomas Grevell of Stocke Lysley in the diocese of Oxon, declared his testament nuncupative the 25th daye of July in the firste yere of the Raigne of Quene Mary, by the which he gave to Elizabeth his wyfe all his goodes, saying expressly that all his

goodes he had by his said wyef, and therefore to her he leaveth them.

These being witnesses: EDUARDE SOMERFEILDE, Esq.; STEPHEN CORDIE and LAWRENCE YATES, parson of Hardewicke.

5 May 1561 commission issued to William Holte, executor named in the will of Elizabeth Grevell, late relict of the above named Thomas Grevell deceased, to adminster the goods &c. of the said deceased.

(P.C.C. Loftes, 15.)

The Will of ELIZABETH GREVELL,
late the wyef of Thomas Grevell of Stoke Lysley,
co. Oxforde, widowe;
dated 3 and 4 Philip and Mary.

I bequeath my body to be buried in the parish church of Stoke.

I make William Holte, my eldest son, my full and whole executor and give unto him all my goods not given or bequeathed by this my last will.

I give to Francis Holte, my other son, 100 shepe rateable, 10 beasts, one feather bed, &c. &c., provided always that these legacies be not prejudiciall to the annuity of 15li. a year to the said Francis.

I bequeath to Ellen Becley, my maid, 20 nobles, so that she be ruled by my executor.

I give to Thomas Holte and Anne Holte, my son William's children, 100 shepe, to keep them at school yf God should do his will by their father.

Item, to Thomas London, 3 shepe.

To so many of my godchildren as my executor shall think fit a shepe apiece.

Witnesses: RICARDE BENNET, parson of Bucknell; WILLIAM GENNINGS, with others.

Proved 5 May 1561, by the executor named.

(P.C.C. Loftes, 15.)

Appendices

The Will of Anne Grevell of Ebrington Glo^s Widow.

I bequeath my soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the church or churchyard of Ebrington.

I give unto my son in law John Grevell one cow

and unto Robert the son of the said John Grevell £5

and unto Elizabeth the daughter of the said John Grevell 53/-

and unto Thomas the son of the said John Grevell 53/-

and unto William „ „ „ „ „ 53/-

and unto John „ „ „ „ „ 53/-

Unto sundry poor inhabitants of Ebrington 6^d.

Unto my servants and house men and maidens I give 7^d.

Unto my Godson John Davis 20/-

„ „ „ Richard Harbaye 6/8

„ „ „ Thomas Harbaye the son of John Harbaye 6/8

„ the two daughters of John Alnsieby named Elizabeth and Dorothy 2/-.

Whereas my husband Thomas Grevell bequeathed 13/4 to be employed and bestowed towards the repairs of the church whereof I have paid the churchwardens.

I give 5/- to be bestowed on things necessary for the repair of the Church of Ebrington by the discretion of Thomas Gales Elder Vicar there.

The rest of my goods for the natural lives of Margaret Elizabeth and Anne the daughters of my son in law with Robert Grevell to be enjoyed.

I give unto the above named Elizabeth and Anne with Robert Grevells daughter to be equally distributed and payed in the day of their marriage.

I will that Margaret the daughter of the said Robert Grevell shall share in my goods with the s^d Elizabeth and Anne.

I make the said Robert Grevell sole Executor.

Overseers my brother in law John Davis and W^m Tomlyns.

Dated 15 May 1593.

Witnesses THOMAS GILES the Elder.

JOHN THOMAS Stew.

ANNE DAVIES.

DORATHIE WILSON.

Proved 12th July 1594.

APPENDIX B TO BOOK VI

Inscriptions on Coffin Plates in the Vault beneath the Chapter House of St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

Here lyeth the body of the Right Hon^{bl} Francis Lord Brooke Barone Brooke of Beauchampe Court eldest sone of the Right Hon^{bl} Robert Lord Brooke who died on the xxiii year of his age at Chiswicke in Middlesex upon the xix day of Novemb MDCLVIII and was here intered the xxi day of December folloing.

Robert Grevill 2^d Son of y^e Right Hon^{bl} Robert y^e 2^d Lord Brooke by y^e Lady Ann his Wife Sole Daughter and Heir of John Dodington of Bremore Esq. Borne at Hackney May y^e 13th 1664 and Died y^e 11 of June follow^{ing} and Buried y^e 16 Day After.

John Grevill 3 Son of y^e Right Hon^{bl} Robert y^e 2^d Lord Brooke by y^e Lady Ann his Wife Sole Daughter and Heir of John Dodington of Bremore in Hampshire Esq. Borne at Hackney June y^e 15, 1665 and Died at Warwick August y^e 30, 1667 and Buried here y^e Day After.

The Body of Sarah Lady Brook wife to y^e R^t Hon^{ble} Foulk Lord Brook who dyed y^e 20th September 1705 in y^e 58 Yeare of her Age.

The Hon^{ble} Francis Grevile Eldest Son to the R^t Hon^{ble} Fulk L^d Brook Died Oct^r 11th 1710 In y^e 43^d yeare of His age.

The R^t Hon^{ble} Fulke Lord Brooke Baron Brooke of Beauchampe Court in the County of Warwick Dyed at his House in Twickenham in y^e County of Midd^x on Sunday the 22^d of October 1710 in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

The Hon^{ble} M^{rs} Diana Grevile Daughter of the R^t Hon^{ble} Foulk L^d Brooke Died April y^e 11th 1715.

Appendices

The Hon^{ble} Fulke Grevile Esq^r Second Son of the R^t Hon^{ble} Will^m Lord Brooke was Born y^e 22 Day of Oct and Dyed y^e 24th day of March 1718 Aged 22 Weeks and 6 Days.

The Hon^{ble} William Grevile Esq^r Son of The R^t Hon^{ble} William Lord Brooke died March y^e 26th 1718 Aged 5 Months.

The Hon^{ble} Sarah Grevile Fourth daughter of the R^t Hon. Fulke Lord Brooke Deceas'd who died the 1^t of Jan: Anno Domⁱ 1719 in y^e 46th year of her age.

Mary Lady of The R^t Hon. William Lord Brooke Daughter and Coheiress of The Hon^{ble} Henry Thynne and Grand Daughter of y^e R^t Hon^{ble} Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth: Departed this Life March y^e 29th 1720 in y^e 19th Year of Her Age Leaving Issue Francis Her Son.

The Hon^{ble} Algernoone Grevile Fourth Son of the R^t Hon^{ble} Foulke Lo^d Brooke who died 28th Apr^l 1720 Aged 46 years.

The R^t Hon^{ble} William Grevile Baron Brook of Beauchamps Court in y^e County of Warwick Died y^e 28th July 1727 in y^e 33^d year of his Age.

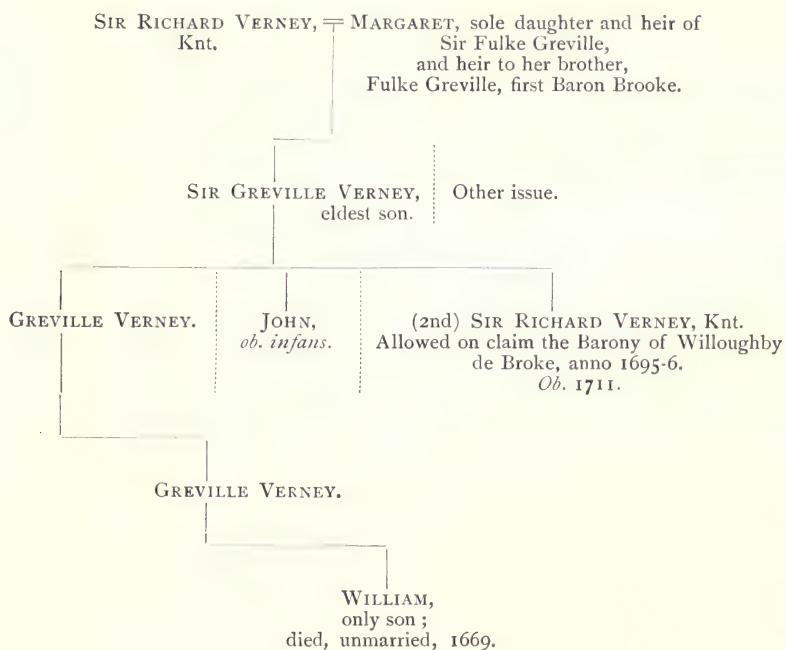
NOTE.—The Vault contains twenty-eight coffins in all, but as these are laid one upon another (three deep) it was only possible to copy the inscriptions upon the upper ones. The three earliest in date given above are cast leaden inscriptions with raised letters soldered to the leaden coffins. I have rubbings of these.

LLOYD CHADWICK.

APPENDIX C TO BOOK VI

Pedigree of Baron Willoughby de Broke

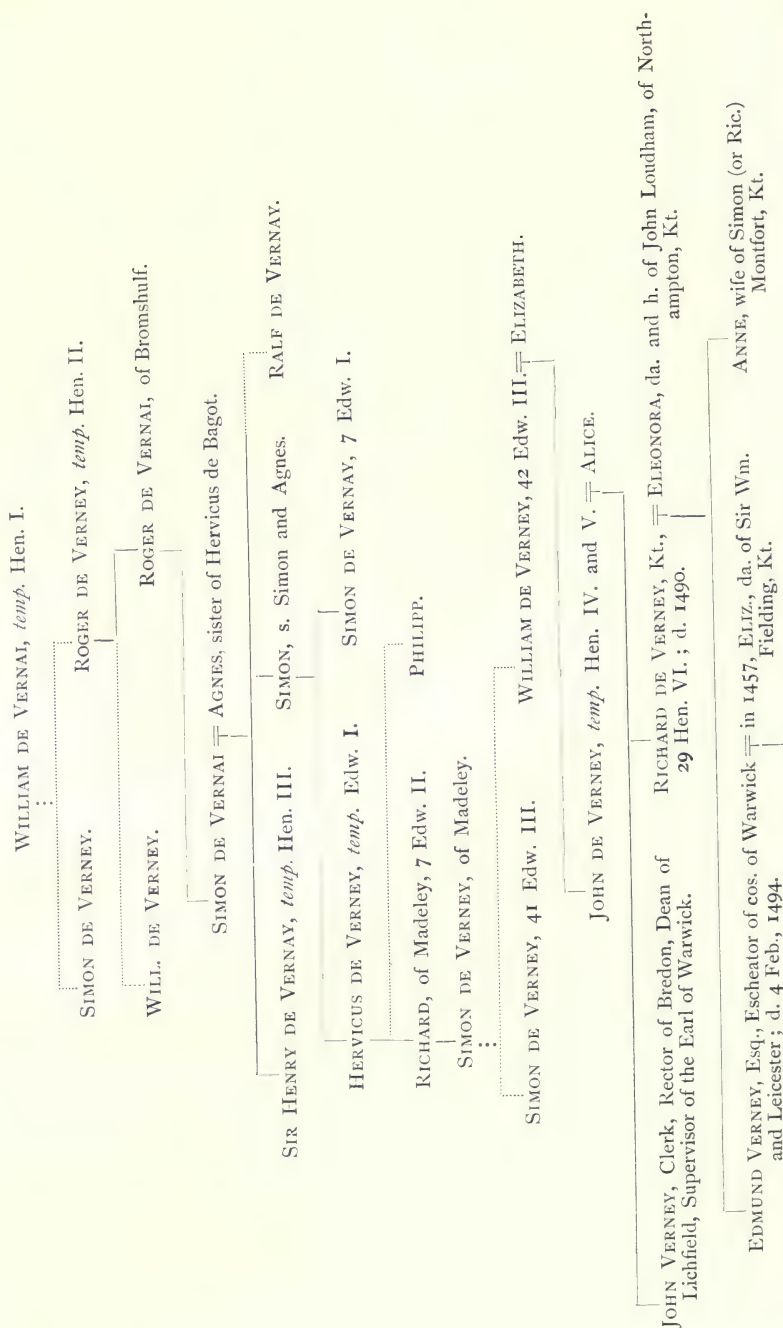
(From Bant's "*Dormant and Extinct Baronetage*," vol. ii., p. 609.)



APPENDIX D TO BOOK VI

Pedigree of Verney

(From the *Illuminated Parchment Book at Compton Verney*.)



LEONARD.
—
MICHAEL.

RICHARD VERNEY, = ANNE, da. of
of Compton, Esq.,
Wm. Danvers.
ob. 27 or 28 Sept.,
1527

ELIZ., wife of
Thos. Grey,
of Enville.

THOMAS VERNEY, Kt. ; = ALICE, sister and co-h. of Tho. Tame,
of Fairford, co. Gloucester, Kt.
d. 1537.

ANNE, wife of Edw. Odingsels,
of Long Ichington.

2. PETER.

RICHARD = FRANCES, da. of George Raleigh, of Farnborough, co. Warwick.

TIMOTHY.

DOROTHY,
mar. Danvers.

RICHARD.

GEORGE VERNEY, = JANE, da. of William Lucy,
d. 8 April, 16 Eliz. of Charlecot, Esq.

STEPHEN.

ELEANOR,
mar. Roydon.

RICHARD VERNEY, = MARGARET, da. of Fulke Greville,
b. 1563, d. 1630. Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp Court.

GREVILLE VERNEY, = CATHERINE, da.
d. 12 May, 1642. of Robert
Southwell, of
Wood Rising,
co. Norfolk.

RICHARD, d. single.
—
GEORGE, mar. Tryphena,
da. of Edmund,
Lord Mulgrave.

JOHN, mar. Elizab. Berkeley, of
Cothenrige.

MARY, mar. Ric. Samwell, of
Upton, Northants.—
ANNIE, mar. John Bretton, of
Norton, co. Northants.—
ELIZABETH, d. unmar.—
MARGARET, mar. Shirley.

GREVILLE VERNEY, = ELIZABETH, da. of Thomas,
d. 1648. Viscount Wenman.

GEORGE.

ELIZABETH, mar. Edw. Peyto,
of Chesteriton, Esq.

MARY, da. of John Pretiman, = RICHARD, admitted to the = 2nd, FRANCES, da. of Thomas Dove,
of Ledingstone, co. Leicester, dormant title of Lord of Castleacre, co. Norfolk,
Kt. and Bart. Willoughby de Broke. and Upton.

APPENDIX E TO BOOK VI

The Main Line of the House of Greville

WILLIAM GREYVLE, of Ingelthwaite and Avaldtosfe, = . . .
co. York; d. 1294.

JOHN DE GREVILLE, held land in Southwick, co. Wilts; alive in 1297-8. (Warwick Papers.)

WILLIAM DE GREVILLE, holding land at Henton, = (?) LUCY . . .
co. Bucks; alive 1313-4; probably Lord of Clotton
and Farnelburgh, co. Somerset, Southwick, co.
Wilts, and Burmington, co. Warwick, of which
he had the grant 28 Jan., 1330.

MARIONA, da. of . . . ; d. 10 Sept., 1386. = WILLIAM GREVEL, Woolstapler, = JOANNA, sister of Sir
(Brass at Campden, co. Gloucester.) of London, Lord of Chipping
Campden, and reputed builder of
the church; after 1398 Lord of
Milcot, co. Warwick. Will dated
at Campden 2 April, 1401; d.
1 Oct., 1401. (Brass in church.)

2nd, JOYCE, da. = JOHN GREVILLE, of 1st, SIBIL, da.
of Sir Walter Campden and Sei- and h. of Sir
Cokesey, Kt., sincote; Sheriff for Robert Corbet,
and sister and co. of Gloucester Kt., and Joan
heirress of Hugh 1427-8, and of the his wife; d.
Cokesey; died s.p.; living in
1473-4. Marches of Wales 1420-1.

WILLIAM. MARY, mar. EDWARD GREVILLE, LUDOVIC GREVILLE, d. 18
John Giffard. of Cherdelynych, Aug., 1419; bur. at Dray-
RICHARD. mar. Isabella Sta- ton, co. Oxon; mar.
ALICE, mar. Margaret, da. and h. of
Edmund Will dated 12 Sir Giles Arderne, Kt.,
Ludlow. Dec., 1446; proved Lord of Manor of Drayton,
5 Feb. following. by his wife Philippa; bur.
at Drayton (Effigies there).

A

B

JOHN GREVILLE, of Campden and Charlton = ANNE, da. of William Kings, 1441-2; Kt. of the Shire 1414 and 1434-5; J.P. co. Warwick and Sheriff 1461-2; Sheriff co. Leicester 1461-2; knighted 1465-6; living at Milcot on death of his mother 1473-4; Sheriff of Warwick 1473 and 1477-8; will proved at Worcester; d. 6 Aug., 1481; bur. at Weston-on-Avon.

THOMAS GREVILLE, b. 1455, = ELIZABETH, da. of Will. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, by cos. Warwick and Leicester 1480-1; knight-banneret for valour at Stoke 1486; Commissioner of Array, 1489, 1490-1; d. *s.p.* 1498-9.

JOHN GREVILLE, of = JANE, da. of Humphrey Foster, of Harpenden, co. Herts, Kt. J.P. for co. of Warwick 1499-1500.

ELIZABETH, mentioned in will.

EDWARD GREVILLE, of Milcot; J.P. for co. Warwick 1509; knighted at siege of Tournay 13 Oct., 1513; d. in 1528-9; bur. in St. Anne's Chapel, Weston-on-Avon; admitted to Guild of Knowle 1506, and into that of Stratford 1498-9.

MAURICE GREVILLE. JOHN GREVILLE.

JOHN GREVILLE, of Drayton, d. 18 Aug., 1440; mar. Anne, da. of Sir Robert Frances, of Formark, co. Derby, Kt. (Effigy at Drayton.) RICHARD GREVILLE, = ELENA. Knight of the Shire for Oxford 1420-1, of Leamington, co. Gloucester; Member of the Guild of Stratford-on-Avon 1468-9.

RALPH GREVILLE, of Drayton; bur. in Wroxton Abbey Church. MARGARET, da. and co-h. of Thomas Poyntz, of Frampton Cotterell, co. Gloucester, and son of Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, by Catherine, da. of Thomas Berkeley *alias* Fitz-Nicholas. JOYCE, mar. William Charnells, of Snarston, co. Leicester.

HUMPHREY GREVILLE, (?) of Coteshill. THOMAS GREVILLE, per-haps of Stoke Lysley, co. Oxon. Will dated 25 July, 1553; mar. Elizabeth (?) Holte. Will dated 1556; proved 5 May, 1561. MARY, mar. Robert Somerville, Esq. SIR WILLIAM GREVILLE, Knight and Judge.

ELIZABETH.

FULKE, Lord Brooke, b. 1693; ed. Univ. Coll., Oxford; succeeded as 6th Baron Brooke 22 Oct., 1710; d. 24 Feb., 1711.

WILLIAM GREVILLE, Lord Brooke, b. 1694; ed. Wadham Coll., Oxford; succeeded 24 Feb., 1711; Recorder of Warwick; M.A. Oxford 4 Nov., 1712; d. 28 July, 1727; bur. at Warwick 11 Aug., 1727.

MARY THYNNE, da. of Thomas, 1st Viscount Weymouth, by Frances, da. of Henenge, Earl of Winchelsea; bur. 8 April, 1720.

ELIZABETH. CATHERINE, mar. to Charles Egerton, Esq., son of John, Earl of Bridgewater.

The Hon. WILLIAM GREVILLE.

The Hon. FULKE GREVILLE.

FRANCIS GREVILLE, Earl Brooke. = b. 10 Oct., 1719; Recorder of Warwick; created Earl Brooke 7 July, 1746; Lord Lieut. 6 July, 1749, June 24, 1757; created Earl of Warwick 13 Nov., 1759; d. 6 July, 1773; bur. at Warwick 18 July following.

= 16 May, 1742, ELIZABETH, grand-da. of William, 3rd Duke of Hamilton; she d. 24 Feb., 1800.

1st, The Hon. GEORGIANA = GEORGE GREVILLE, Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick, b. 16 Sept., 1746; F.R.S. 17 Dec., 1767; F.S.A. 14 Feb., 1768; M.P. for Warwick 1768-73; Lord of Trade 26 Jan., 1771; Lieut.-Col. commdg. Warwick Fencible Cav. 23 May, 1794; Lord Lieut. of co. Warwick 14 Jan., 1795; d. 2 May, 1816; bur. at Warwick 12 May, 1816.

The Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS GREVILLE, b. 12 May, 1749; d. unm. 23 April, 1809.

The Hon. ROBERT FULKE GREVILLE, b. 3 Feb., 1751; F.R.S., F.L.S., Groom of the Bedchamber; m. Oct., 1797, Louisa, Countess of Mansfield; died 27 April, 1824; bur. at Warwick 7 May, 1824.

The Hon. CHARLES GREVILLE, b. 12 May, 1749; d. unm. 23 April, 1809.

HENRIETTA, da. of Richard Vernon, Esq., by Evelyn his wife, da. of John, 1st Earl Gower.

The Hon. LOUISA AUGUSTA, b. 14 April, 1743; m. 23 April, 1779, William Churchill, Esq., of Henbury, co. Dorset.

The Hon. FRANCES ELIZABETH, b. 11 May, 1744; mar. 17 July, 1764, Sir Harry Harpur, Bart.; she d. 7 April, 1825.

The Hon. CHARLOTTE MARY, b. 6 July, 1745; mar. 14 Aug., 1762, John, Lord Carlisle, son to the Earl of Galloway, and d. 31 May, 1763.

The Hon. ISABELLA, b. 1 March, 1748; d. the same day.

The Hon. ANNE, b. 26 Aug., 1760; d. 26 May, 1783.

- GEORGE, d. young; bur. 11 May, 1786.
 —WILLIAM HAMILTON GREVILLE, bur.
 4 April, 1801.
 —Sir CHARLES, K.C.B., Major-General;
 Lieut.-Colonel 38th Foot; M.P. for
 Warwick.
 —ELIZABETH, d. 23 Jan., 1806.
 —HENRIETTA, m. 3 Feb., 1805, Thomas
 Scott, Earl of Clonmel.
 —CAROLINE.
 —CHARLOTTE.
 —AUGUSTA.

GEORGE GUY GREVILLE, Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle, Earl of
 Warwick; A.D.C. to H.M. Queen Victoria; Col. Warwick Yeomanry;
 b. 28 March, 1818; d. at Warwick Castle 2 Dec., 1893; bur. at
 Warwick 6 Dec.

FRANCIS RICHARD CHARLES == mar. at Westminster
 GUY GREVILLE, 5th Earl of
 of Warwick; D.L. and
 C.C. for Warwick; Hon.
 Maj. of Warwick Yeom.;
 Governor of Rugby School;
 b. at 7, Carlton Gardens
 9 Feb., 1853; bap. at War-
 wick 31 Jan., 1853.

The Hon. ALWYN ==
 HENRY FULKE
 GREVILLE, b.
 9 Feb., 1854;
 bap. 1 May, 18—;
 Extra-Equerry to
 H.R.H. Duke of
 Edinburgh;
 Capt. 1st Batt.
 King's Royal
 Rifle Corps.

LEOPOLD GUY FRANCIS MAYNARD,
 Lord Brooke, b. at Grosvenor
 Square, London, 10 Sept., 1882.

MARJORIE BLANCHE EVA,
 b. at 7, Carlton Gardens
 26 Oct., 1884.

HENRY RICHARD GREVILLE, Earl Brooke and Earl of War-
 wick, b. 9 March, 1779; Capt. Warwick Regt. of Gentry
 7 Sept., 1797; Col. Loyal Birmingham Regt. of Volunteers
 20 Feb., 1779; M.P. for Warwick 1802, 1806-7, 1812, 1816;
 D.L. co. Warwick 21 Sept., 1803; Recorder of Warwick
 1816-32; Lord Lieut. co. Warwick 5 July, 1822; K.T. 10
 May, 1827; D.C.L. Oxford 10 June, 1834; d. 10 Aug.,
 1853; bur. at Warwick 19 Aug., 1853.

The Hon. LOUIS ==
 GEORGE GRE-
 VILLE, Sec. at
 Tokio; b. 2
 Jan., 1856.

The Hon. LOUIS == mar. (?) at St. George's,
 Hanover Square, 12
 July, 1887, LILY, da.
 of L.H. Gordon, Esq.,
 of Wetcombe Lodge,
 Wimbledon.

The Hon. EVA == mar. at St. Margaret's,
 Westminster, 20
 July, 1895, FRANK
 DUGDALE, Esq.,
 2nd son of James
 Dugdale, of Wrox-
 hall Abbey.

The Hon. SIDNEY
 ROBERT GREVILLE,
 C.B., Equerry to
 H.M. King Ed-
 ward VII.; b. 16
 Nov. 1865.

The Hon. MAYNARD GREVILLE,
 b. at Easton 2 March, 1898;
 bap. at Warwick Castle 7 May,
 1898.

The Hon. CHARLES ALGERNON
 CROMARTIE, b. at Easton 22
 Nov., 1885; d. at Easton 28
 March, 1887.

Descendants of Robert, Lord Brooke

FRANCIS, Lord Brooke, b. before 1639, succeeded as 3rd Baron 2 March, 1643; Recorder of Warwick, where he was bur. 21 Dec., 1658.	ROBERT, Lord Brooke, b. succeeded Nov., 1658; Lord Lieut. of Staffordshire 20 Aug., 1660; High Steward of Stafford 1674, and of Stratford-on-Avon 1674; J.P.; d. 13 Feb.; bur. at Warwick 20 March, 1676-7.	JOHN. — FRANCIS.	CHARLES, bur. at Warwick 12 June, 1663. — WILLIAM.	ANNE, da. and co-h.; mar. Wm. Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston. — DORINGTON, b. 20, bapt. 21 Feb., 1672; mar. Charles Montagu, 4th Earl of Manchester.	EDWARD, bur. at Warwick 25 Oct., 1655. — ALGERNON, bur. at Warwick 6 Aug., 1662.	FULKE, b. after 2 March, 1643; succeeded as 5th Baron 13 Feb., 1677; Recorder of Warwick and Coventry; d. 22 Oct., 1710; bur. at Warwick 3 March following.	FULKE, b. after 2 March, 1643; succeeded as 5th Baron 13 Feb., 1677; Recorder of Warwick and Coventry; d. 22 Oct., 1710; bur. at Warwick 3 March following.	SARAH, da. of Alderman Dashiwood of the City of London; bur. at Warwick 3 Oct., 1705.
FRANCIS GREVILLE, b. 1 July, bapt. 24 July, 1667; d. 11 Oct., 1710.	ANNE, eldest da. of John, and sister and co-h. of Charles, Earl of Rochester, and widow of Henry Baynton, of Spy Park, co. Wilts, Esq.	ALGERNON, bur. at Warwick 6 May, 1720.	MARY, da. of Arthur, 5th son of Henry, Duke of Beaufort, by his wife Mary, da. and h. of Sir William Russell, Bart., and widow of H. C. Cotton, Esq.	DORINGTON, b. 20, bapt. 21 Feb., 1672; mar. Charles Montagu, 4th Earl of Manchester.	ROBERT, b. 19, bapt. 20 April, 1674; d. in France; bur. at Warwick 12 Mar., 1700-1.	FULKE, b. 11 Dec., bapt. 9 Jan., 1670; 2nd Earl of Gainsborough; and 2nd, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.	CATHERINE, mar. 1st, Wriothesley Baptist Noel, 2nd Earl of Gainsborough; and 2nd, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.	ANNE, b. 29 Aug., bapt. 27 Sept., 1668; bur. at Warwick 7 Dec., 1692.
HENRIETTA, mar. Sir James Long, of Draycot, co. Wilts, Bart.	DIANA, bur. 20 April, 1715.	MARY, bur. 21 May, 1714.	SARAH, bapt. 29 May, 1672; bur. 13 Jan., 1719.	ELIZABETH, b. and bapt. 6 Oct., 1669; mar. Francis, 2nd Baron Guilford.	ROBERT, b. 19, bapt. 20 April, 1674; d. in France; bur. at Warwick 12 Mar., 1700-1.	FULKE, b. 11 Dec., bapt. 9 Jan., 1670; 2nd Earl of Gainsborough; and 2nd, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.	CATHERINE, mar. 1st, Wriothesley Baptist Noel, 2nd Earl of Gainsborough; and 2nd, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.	ANNE, b. 29 Aug., bapt. 27 Sept., 1668; bur. at Warwick 7 Dec., 1692.

FULKE, Lord Brooke, succeeded as 6th Baron 22 Oct., 1710; d. 24 Feb., 1711.

WILLIAM, Lord Brooke, b. 1694; = MARY, da. of Thomas, 1st Viscount Weymouth, by Frances his wife, da. of Hennege, Earl of Winchilsea; bur. at Warwick 8 April, 1720.

ELIZABETH. CATHERINE, mar. Charles, son of John, Earl of Bridgewater.

WILLIAM.

FULKE.

FRANCIS, Earl Brooke, b. 10 Oct., 1719; = 16 May, 1742, ELIZABETH, grandda. of William, 3rd Duke of Hamilton, and da. of Archibald Hamilton, of Riccartown and Pardoven, co. Linlithgow, Governor of Jamaica, by Lady Jane Hamilton his wife, da. of James, 6th Earl of Abercorn; she died 24 Feb., 1800.

FRANCIS, Earl Brooke, b. 10 Oct., 1719; = 16 May, 1742, ELIZABETH, grandda. of William, 3rd Duke of Hamilton, and da. of Archibald Hamilton, of Riccartown and Pardoven, co. Linlithgow, Governor of Jamaica, by Lady Jane Hamilton his wife, da. of James, 6th Earl of Abercorn; she died 24 Feb., 1800.

1st, The Hon.

GEORGIANA

PEACHEY,

only da. of

James,

1st Lord Selsey,

1 April, 1771;

she d. April,

and bur. at

Warwick

12 April, 1772.

GEORGE GREVILLE, Earl Brooke, = 2nd, 9 July, 1776,

2nd Earl of Warwick, b. 16 Sept., 1746; F.R.S. 17 Dec., 1767;

F.S.A. 14 Feb., 1768; M.P. for

Warwick 1768-73; Lord of Trade

26 Jan., 1771; Lieut.-Col. War-

wick Fencible Cavalry 23 May,

1794; Lord Lieut. for Warwick-

shire 14 Jan., 1795; d. 2 May,

bur. at Warwick 12 May, 1816.

CHARLES

FRANCIS,

b. 12 May,

1749;

d. unmar.

23 April,

1809.

ROBERT

FULKE,

b. 3 Feb.,

1751;

F.R.S.

Groom of

the Bed-

chamber;

bur. 7 May,

1824.

10 Oct. 1797,

LOUISA, Countess

of Mansfield; d. 27

April, 1824;

3rd da. of Charles,

9th Lord Cathcart,

and 2nd wife of

David, 7th Viscount

Stormont.

LOUISA

AUGUSTA,

b. 14 April,

1743;

mar. 23 April,

1770,

Wm. Churchill,

Esq.,

of Henbury,

co. Dorset.

FRANCES ELIZABETH, b. 11

May, 1744; m. 17 July, 1764;

Sir Harry Harpur, Bart.;

d. 7 April, 1825.

CHARLOTTE MARY, b. 6 July, 1745; mar. 14 Aug.,

1762, John, son and h. of Alexander, 6th Earl of

Galloway, by his wife, Catherine, da. of John, 4th

Earl of Dundonald; she d. 31 May, 1763.

ISABELL,

b. and d.

1 March,

1748.

ANNE, b. 26 Aug.,

1760;

d. 26 May,

1783.

- GEORGE, bur. II
May, 1786.
—
SIR CHARLES
GREVILLE,
K.C.B.;
Major-Gen.; Lt.-
Col. 38th Foot;
M.P. for War-
wick;
bur. 3 May, 1809.
- CAROLINE, MARY,
bap. 19 April,
1786.
—
AUGUSTA
SOPHIA, bap. 23
Oct., 1787.
—
CHARLOTTE
MATILDA,
b. 29 Aug.,
bap. 18 Sept.,
1796.
- ELIZABETH
FRANCES,
bur. 3 Feb., 1805.
—
WILLIAM
HAMILTON,
bap. 1 March,
1801; bur. 4 April
following.
- HENRIETTA,
mar. 3 Feb.,
1805; Thomas,
Earl of Clonmel;
she d. 8 Nov.,
1858.
- HENRY RICHARD, b. 29 March,
1779; Capt. Warwick Regt. of
Gentry 7 Sept., 1797; Col.
Loyal Birm. Regt. Vol. 20 Feb.,
1779; M.P. for Warwick 1802,
1806-7, 1812, 1816; Dep.-Lieut.
co. Warwick 21 Sept., 1803;
Recorder of Warwick 1816-32;
Lord Lieut. of Warwick 5 July,
1822; K.T. 10 May, 1827;
D.C.L. Oxford 10 June, 1834;
d. 10 Aug., bur. at Warwick
19 Aug., 1853.
- 21 Oct., 1816, SARAH
ELIZABETH, da. of
John, 2nd Earl of
Mexborough, by his
wife Elizabeth, da.
and h. of Henry
Stephenson, Esq.,
of East Burnham,
Bucks, widow of
John George, 4th
Lord Monson; she
d. 30 Jan., 1851.

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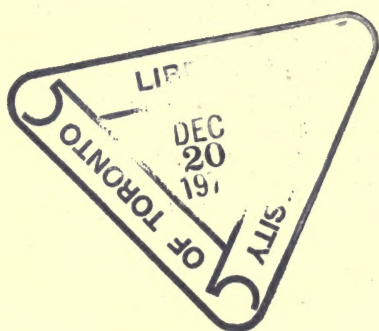
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